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NAPOLEON IN EXILE AT ST. HELENA (1815-1821)

NORWOOD YOUNG

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NAPOLEON
IN EXILE: ST. HELENA

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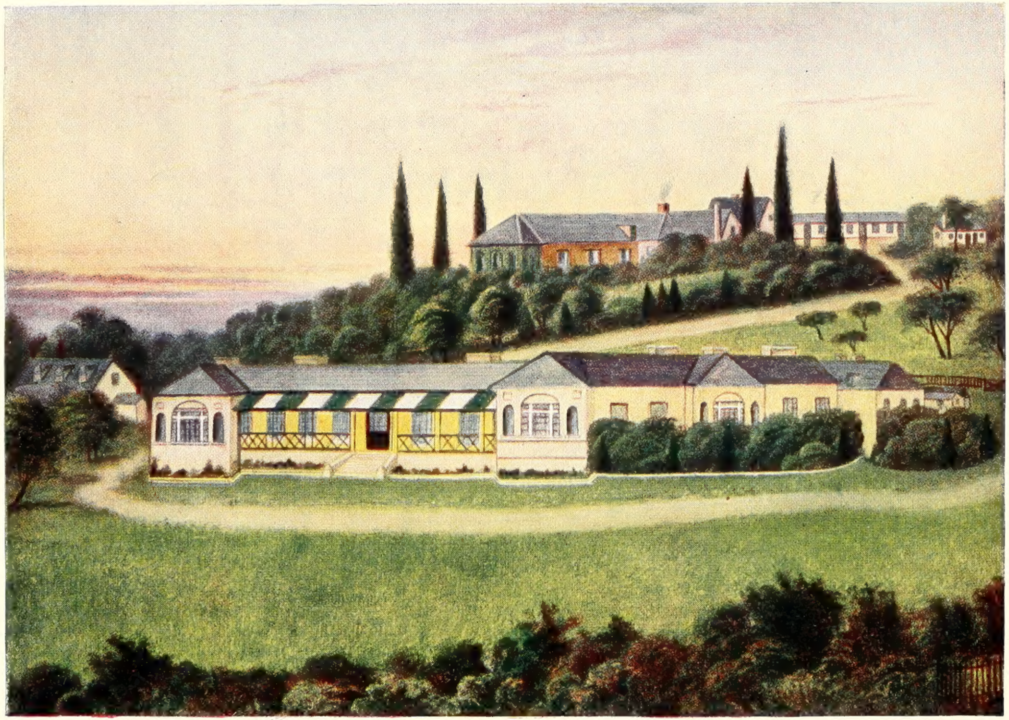

BERTRAND'S HOUSE NEW LONGWOOD LONGWOOD HOUSE

From a painting by Robert Cordwell, executed from drawings made on the spot by Frederick Allison in 1821. In the possession of Dr. Arnold Chaplin

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NAPOLEON IN EXILE: ST. HELENA

: : : (1815–1821) : : :

BY NORWOOD YOUNG

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NAPOLEON
IN EXILE: ST. HELENA

CHAPTER XVI

THE DEPORTATION OF LAS CASES

THE servant of Count Las Cases at Longwood was a mulatto, named James Scott. Las Cases sent Scott with a secret message to Baroness Sturmer, a fact which the Baron at once communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe; who then learned that Scott had been engaged as servant by Las Cases without the sanction of Sir George Cockburn, and that he did not bear a good character. On the 13th November, 1816, he informed Las Cases that he would have to change his servant, to which the Count replied, in the Longwood manner of sulky defiance, that the servant of his choice might be taken from him but he could not be compelled to accept the substitute offered by the Governor. Lowe was hardened to that kind of reply. Scott was removed on the 15th, and forbidden all communication with Longwood.

The loss of his servant came at a time when Las Cases was most anxious for an honourable excuse for leaving St. Helena. The weak state of his eyes prevented him from writing much, and so the daily journal had to be dictated to his son, who in his turn had developed a heart weakness of a somewhat alarming nature. Las Cases and his son were in the smallest and most uncomfortable rooms, at the back of the house. They were at this time the most miserable of the followers, and the journal having now attained a substantial size, Las Cases gave evident signs of restiveness.

His relations with the other followers had never been good and had been steadily growing worse. Gourgaud told Bertrand, who appears to have agreed, that the complaints against Sir Hudson Lowe merely aggravated their position; that it was all due to "the follies and intrigues of Las Cases, his promenades, his meetings on horseback." "Las Cases is always urging on His Majesty, and so does him much harm." Gourgaud was right. Las Cases was the inspirer of much of the violence against Sir Hudson Lowe, and the cause of many of the Longwood troubles.

When Scott was removed, Montholon told Gourgaud he was sure Las Cases would soon go. In effect he was much upset. "His Majesty," writes Gourgaud, "takes a great interest in this poor man. We dine. The Emperor sends for news of this poor Las Cases. Ali returns with the report that he is in bed but hopes to manage some soup and a nice fowl. 'Ah, the poor man,' exclaims Montholon. To which His Majesty makes no response. After dinner His Majesty sends the young one to keep his father company, and then talks again about his dear Las Cases. 'The vexations of the Governor without doubt have been the cause of his illness.' I object," says Gourgaud, "that I suffered as much as M. Las Cases when they took my servant, and that for three days I had no domestic to attend me."

Next day there was a scene. Bertrand was instructed by Napoleon to tell Gourgaud that Las Cases, being a chamberlain, should take precedence over him, to which Gourgaud answered by citing all the privileges to which he was entitled from his position of Chief Orderly Officer to His Majesty, concluding with the remark, "In no event will I, a soldier, give way to a chamberlain who is not in reality anything but a titled valet."

Napoleon sent for Gourgaud and Montholon. He expressed to them his appreciation of the society of Las Cases, a man of great merit, and told them they ought to make friends with him. Gourgaud replied that the chamberlain was too much of a Jesuit for him, whereupon Napoleon told him bluntly that as regards character he had less even than a child. Gourgaud appealed to Montholon, who remarked that, for his part, he had been a Minister Plenipotentiary, he was a General, also a Chamberlain, he had served his country seventeen years, and that never, under any pretext, would he give way to Las Cases. Napoleon said that if he had seniority as a Chamberlain that made a difference—a remark which preluded an attack on Gourgaud who, he observed, thought too much of himself and was jealous also of Montholon. Gourgaud replied that he was in agreement with Montholon, that nothing would ever affect their good relations, that his only hope was that His Majesty could not intend the hard words by which he was crushing them. The Emperor ended by laying down that after Bertrand and Las Cases came Mme. de Montholon, and that as for Gourgaud and Montholon they were two children who together counted only as one person. " My calculation is," concludes Gourgaud, " that the young Emanuel should go before me, since at thirty-three years of age, and after seventeen years of service, I am treated like a child."

When, before dinner, Las Cases and Mme. de Montholon were in attendance on the Emperor in the *salon*, Madame being in tears, Napoleon told her he did not mean a word of what he had said to her husband. Gourgaud adds in triumph that he walked into the dining-room before the chamberlain, and that " His Majesty is very affable towards us, but not to Las Cases." This effort to soothe the feelings of the outraged Generals did little good. Gourgaud had to resort to medicine to relieve his sufferings, and Montholon declared that he would leave St. Helena rather than give precedence to Las Cases. Next day, to prevent further scenes, Napoleon dined in his room, Las Cases in his, and Gourgaud in his, leaving the Montholons to take the house dinner by themselves in the dining-room.

Las Cases writes in his journal of the horrors of his situation, " exiled, and probably for ever, to a deserted rock two thousand leagues from home, confined in a small prison beneath a sky, in a climate, on a soil, totally different from that of my native country. I am hastening to a premature grave, the only probable conclusion of my misery. Bereft of my wife, children, and friends, who though they still live may be said to be no longer in the same world with me; shut out from all communication with mankind, I deplore the recollection of family affections, and the charms of friendship and society." Then he turns to his one consolation. " Here I am not surrounded by mere illusions and historical recollections; I am in actual contact with the living man who has accomplished so many prodigies. Every day, every moment, I may contemplate the features of him who, with a glance, ordered battles, and decided the fate of Empires." . . . " I may gaze on the brow," etc. . . . " I may presume to touch the hand," etc. . . . " I hear the voice of him who," etc. . . . " I converse, almost familiarly, with the monarch who," etc. " I see him, I hear him speak, I attend on him, and, perhaps, even help to console him. Can I then lay claim to pity? On the contrary, will not thousands envy my lot?"

These pleasures, however genuine and honourable, were not potent enough to reconcile Las Cases to a life of permanent exile. The hostility of the Montholons and Gourgaud strengthened his longing to escape. His opportunity now came.

James Scott contrived, in the darkness of evening, to evade all the sentries and enter the apartment of his former master. Las Cases proposed to use him for further clandestine communications, this time with correspondents in Europe, whither Scott would go as the servant of some officer returning to England.[1] Las Cases broached the matter to Napoleon, who looked through the documents which might be utilized, and talked about the work of transcription, but gave no positive orders. Next day when Las Cases spoke again about the project Napoleon evinced no sign of interest, from which the Count concluded that it was to be prosecuted but not in such a manner as to implicate the Emperor in case of discovery. As Gonnard observes:[2] "He left Las Cases to take the risks while retaining for himself the chances of success and the possibility of repudiating Las Cases in case of failure." Las Cases for his part rushed willingly into danger, hoping that as a result he might be deported from the island.

Scott passed through the sentries a second time, and was told to return next day. There was still left some of the satin on which young Las Cases had written the Montholon Remonstrance, for Santini. Emanuel now copied on it, in minute characters, letters from his father to Lady Clavering, a French lady who had befriended Las Cases in England, and to Lucien. The satin was given to Scott, who sewed it in his clothing, and then passed through the sentries once more and returned to Jamestown. The success of these passages to and fro does not speak well for the watchfulness of the guard. It would seem that, in spite of the sentries, who were said to be close under his windows, Napoleon could have left Longwood in the night if he had been so minded.

James Scott showed the waistcoat to his father, John Scott, a white man, who reported the matter to Sir Hudson Lowe, with the result that James was arrested, at Jamestown.

Then came the turn of Count Las Cases. On the 25th November, 1816, at 4 p.m., Las Cases and Gourgaud were with Napoleon in the garden. "Five oranges were brought on a plate, with a knife and some sugar," writes the chamberlain. " Oranges are very scarce on the island; they are sent from the Cape. The Emperor is very fond of this fruit. These were a present from Lady Malcolm, and the Admiral never failed to send him some whenever he had any. We were three of us this moment with the Emperor ; he gave me one of the oranges to put in my pocket for my son, and proceeded to cut the others in slices, and prepare them ; and, seated on the trunk of a tree, was eating them cheerfully, and familiarly distributing part of them to us at the same time. By a fatal instinct I was precisely at that instant contemplating the pleasure of this momentary situation. Alas ! I was far from thinking that I was then taking the last present I should ever receive from his hands."

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[1] Las Cases told Lowe that Scott had "offered" his services, and when Lowe replied that Scott denied it, Las Cases said by "offered" he meant that the servant raised no objections.

[2] "Les Origines," p. 362.

They went into the house and, keeping the door open between the *salon* and the billiard-room, Napoleon, followed by Las Cases, walked up and down the length of the two rooms. The talk was about the festivities which had taken place on the occasion of his marriage, and the terrible fire that followed, at the ball given by Prince Schwartzenberg. " I was listening and inwardly proposing to make an interesting article in my journal on the subject, when the Emperor suddenly interrupted his conversation, to observe through the window a great number of English officers, who were advancing towards us from the gate of our enclosure : it was the Governor, surrounded by several of his staff. These circumstances appeared singular, and—mark the effect of a guilty conscience !—the idea of my letter clandestinely sent, immediately occurred to my mind, and a secret foreboding instantly warned me that all these strange proceedings concerned me. Such, in fact, was the case, for a few minutes afterwards a message was brought to me, informing me that the English Colonel, the creature of Sir Hudson Lowe, was waiting for me in my apartment. I made a sign that I was with the Emperor, who, a few minutes afterwards, said to me, ' Go, Las Cases, and see what that animal wants of you.' And, as I was going, he added, ' *and come back soon.*' These were the last words of Napoleon to me. Alas ! I never saw him again, but his accent, the tone of his voice, still sound in my ears. How often since have I taken delight in allowing my imagination to dwell upon them ! And what mingled sensations of pleasure and regret may be produced by a painful recollection ! "

The English party consisted of Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir George Bingham, Sir Thomas Reade, Captain Blakeney, Mr. Rainsford the Inspector of Police, who had recently arrived in the island, and two orderlies. Having ascertained that Las Cases and his son were in the house, the Governor returned to Plantation House, leaving Sir Thomas Reade with instructions to arrest them both, which was accordingly done. Count Las Cases went with Reade and an orderly to Brigade-Major Harrison's house at Hutt's Gate, and Emanuel followed, escorted by Captain Blakeney and an orderly, with Rainsford in charge of two trunks, which had been packed with papers found in the Las Cases apartments.

Napoleon, upon observing these proceedings from the windows, said he fancied he was seeing a party of South Sea cannibals dancing round their prisoners whom they were about to devour. He was so pleased with the image that he made O'Meara repeat the words after him, to make sure that they should be accurately reported to Sir Hudson Lowe.

As Emanuel Las Cases was being removed, O'Meara asked him whether they had really tried to send the letters, to which the lad, sobbing, replied, " What would you have, we are in such horrible discomfort." This proves that the whole affair had been entered on in the hope of its being discovered, so that a removal by force from Longwood might be engineered. When Count Las Cases saw the small room in which he and his son were to sleep he remarked, more than once, that it was better than what they had been obliged to put up with at Longwood. In the first unguarded moments son and father let it be seen that they had worked for departure from Longwood and were very glad to have got away.

Major Gorrequer told Las Cases that the Governor would at once have dinner sent for him from Plantation House, and expressed the Governor's regret at the distance it would have to travel (about four miles), and said the Governor ordered that anything Las Cases required should be provided. Las Cases was effusive in his thanks.[1]

On the 28th November the two Las Cases were removed from Major Harrison's to a cottage belonging to Balcombe, not far distant, whence the house and grounds of Longwood are plainly visible. The cottage is still in existence; it is of small dimensions. Here was Balcombe's poultry farm, where the fowls, ducks, geese, and turkeys were fattened for Napoleon's table. There was a small garden in which the prisoners could take exercise. The sentries were kept as much as possible out of sight.

The Governor came nearly every day to see Las Cases. The Count told him, in the presence of Major Gorrequer, that he "found him reasonable and frank in all his proceedings; that on his part he felt pleasure in saying he now saw things in a different light; 'at Longwood,' he said, 'one sees things through a veil of blood'; this veil had now been withdrawn from before his eyes, and he now spoke as a stranger to Longwood, and with all the frankness natural to him." He repeated this on a subsequent occasion; he said that "he now spoke and saw things as a stranger to Longwood; that many circumstances appeared to him in a very different light than when he was there; that the same good might result to others by proper explanation and the bloody veil which was extended over Longwood might thus be removed. He acknowledged with pleasure the attention he had received from the Governor since he was in his present situation."

Dr. Baxter, who attended Emanuel Las Cases at Balcombe's cottage, reported to Lowe that the Count "said that, however your actions might be influenced by political

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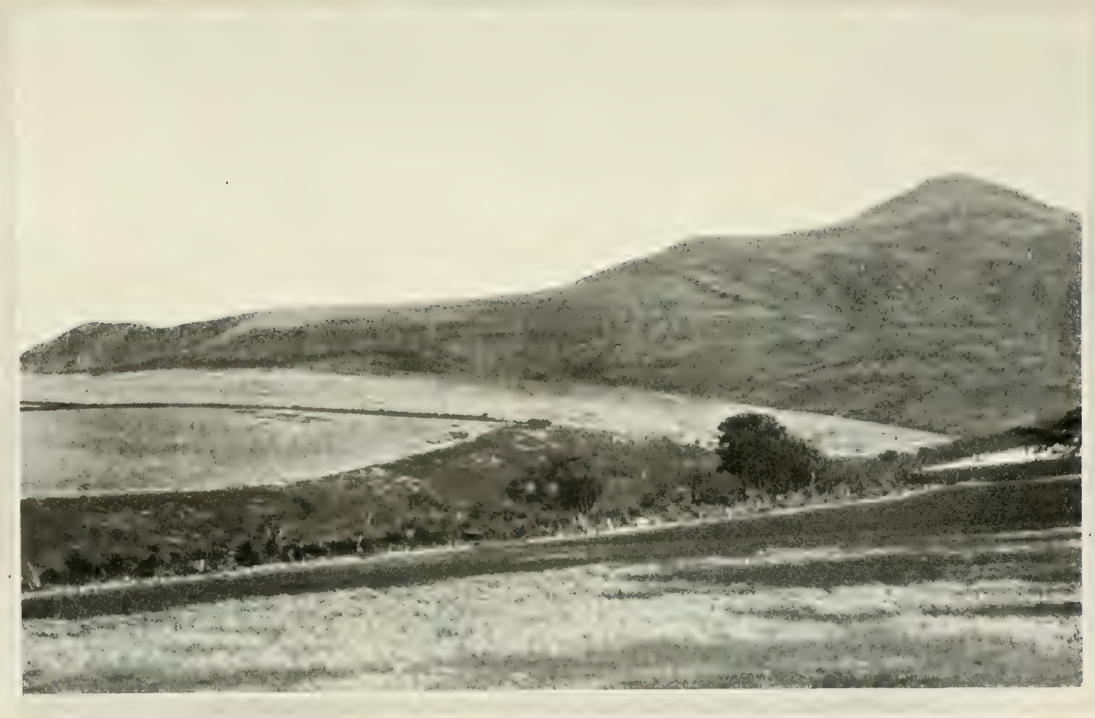
[1] In the "Mémorial" he is not ashamed to say, that when at 11 p.m. he meekly asked for a morsel of bread, the sentries "answered me by presenting their bayonets."



DEADWOOD, WITH FLAGSTAFF HILL, AS SEEN FROM LONGWOOD

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

motives and circumstances, your conduct towards him since his removal from Longwood has been marked with that politeness and attention which was in every way agreeable to his feelings, and that he saw at present your character in a very different light and through quite another medium than when at Longwood."

Las Cases was, doubtless, most anxious to obtain a good footing with the Governor, but that the change of feeling was genuine is shown by an entry in the "Mémorial," of the 7th December, 1816: "I must confess that this Governor, since he has had me in his power, has behaved towards me with the utmost politeness, and the most marked attention. I have seen him go myself and remove a sentry who might, he said, have offended my sight, to place him behind some trees in order that I might no longer see him."[1]

When Las Cases arrived at the Cape his opinion of the Governor there underwent a similar change. He wrote: "I now discovered how greatly the Governor's character had been misrepresented to me. Lord Charles Somerset was, indeed, far from meriting the reports I had heard respecting him. Almost every man has his detractors, and those who have high functions to discharge seldom escape the tongue of calumny."

Las Cases admitted now that on leaving Longwood he for the first time saw things in a reasonable light, and found that Sir Hudson Lowe was a very different man from what he had been taught to believe. In the foul atmosphere of Longwood, thick with the miasma of intrigue, deceit, jealousy, and hatred, it was impossible to see things correctly. Those who emerged and were able to throw off that baneful influence, were astonished at the changed aspect of affairs, when the normal powers of vision had returned.

In one of his interviews with Lowe, Las Cases made some interesting remarks about Napoleon. He said, speaking of the mental disposition, "C'est un vrai malade," that one irritation had been followed by another, till it had brought him "au dernier dégoût de la vie." "He must be looked upon as a sick man; great allowances should be made for him; he expresses himself with warmth; he is by nature of a quick temper; he is of the proudest spirit; we must remember how many years he has been a sovereign, and that he has not been in the custom of restraining himself in the choice of words, at the same time he weighs things well, and is very slow to form a judgment. Be persuaded, Sir Governor, that if you knew him you would find him a man of the best natural disposition." Napoleon at St. Helena was frequently peevish, ill-humoured, violent. But he was not always in the melancholy mood. One day, not feeling well, he asked Bertrand how he was looking. "Rather yellow," replied the Grand Marshal. Napoleon rose from the sofa and chased Bertrand round the table. "Rather yellow, indeed! Do you intend to insult me? Do you mean to assert that I am bilious, morose, splenetic, passionate, unjust, tyrannical? Let me get hold of your ear and I will have my revenge."

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[1] This passage has been cut out of some editions of the "Mémorial."

While living at Balcombe's cottage Las Cases dictated to his son many letters, some of them of portentous length. They are not all printed in the "Mémorial," for he says, "I omit a pretty voluminous correspondence." His letter to Lowe of the 19th December would cover forty large pages of print. He inflicted this arduous work upon his son, although Baxter told him it was this copying that had affected the boy's heart. The papers found in the trunks consisted of the manuscript of the campaign of Italy, dictated by the Emperor, which Lowe sent back to Longwood; copies of the correspondence between Longwood and the English authorities, from the time of Sir George Cockburn, which Lowe also returned to Longwood; and the journal. Napoleon claimed the journal as relating exclusively to himself, and consisting very much of matter derived from him in conversation; Las Cases claimed it as his own handiwork. Lowe decided to keep it.

Having secured his own exclusion from the case, Napoleon denounced Las Cases for his conduct; "not," said he to O'Meara, "that I disapprove of his endeavouring to make our situation known, on the contrary; but I disapprove of the bungling manner in which he attempted it. I am sorry for it, because people will accuse me of having been privy to the plan, and will have a poor opinion of my understanding; supposing me to have consented to so shallow a plot."

On the 30th November Las Cases wrote a long letter to Lowe in which he asked to be sent to England, a request he repeated in a second letter, of the 2nd December, and again in a letter of the 4th December, in which he said: "I demand of you, officially and formally, to be so good as to remove me from St. Helena and restore me to liberty." He was afraid he would be detained in confinement, until orders as to his fate were received from England. Napoleon, who was under the same impression, wrote his follower a letter of sympathy and appreciation, with the advice that he should insist on being sent away at once. The letter contained rather more than the normal abuse of Lowe. The passages relating to Las Cases were as follows: "Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like the whole of your life, honourable and irreproachable; I have pleasure in giving you this testimony. . . . Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one who can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights have you watched over me during my illnesses! However, I advise you, and, if necessary, I order you, to demand of the Governor of this place to be sent to the Continent; he cannot refuse, since he has no power over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. As there is every reason to suppose that you will not be allowed to come and see me before your departure, receive my embrace, and the assurance of my friendship. May you be happy." The letter concluded with the words in Napoleon's handwriting, "Votre dévoué, Napoléon."

The object of this letter was to force Lowe's hand and make him decide at once, either to send Las Cases away, or to allow him to return to Longwood, and Napoleon expected that the latter alternative would be taken. So it proved. On the 17th December, Las Cases wrote to the Governor to inform him that his son's illness had become very serious, and he made the remark that at Longwood there was a medical officer on the spot, to be called in at any moment. Las Cases meant to imply that it was a matter of importance to remove them at once from St. Helena, but Lowe supposed he was expressing a desire to return to Longwood. He went, with Gorrequer, to Balcombe's cottage, and told Las Cases that in consequence of his last letter, taking into account the state of his own and his son's health, and under the impression that such a step would be gratifying to General Bonaparte, he would allow them both to go back to Longwood until final instructions were received from England, "provided the Count would write him a letter on the subject," says Major Gorrequer. "Count Las Cases replied, the Governor had misunderstood him if he conceived he meant by his letter to solicit his return to Longwood." Las Cases was determined never to return to Longwood, not even if the only alternative offered him was a lengthy imprisonment at St. Helena. His reply to Lowe was that he did not intend to go back unless he was asked to do so by the Emperor himself. He wrote to Bertrand to the same effect, knowing well that Napoleon was the last man in the world to ask formally for the presence of any person who wished to stay away.

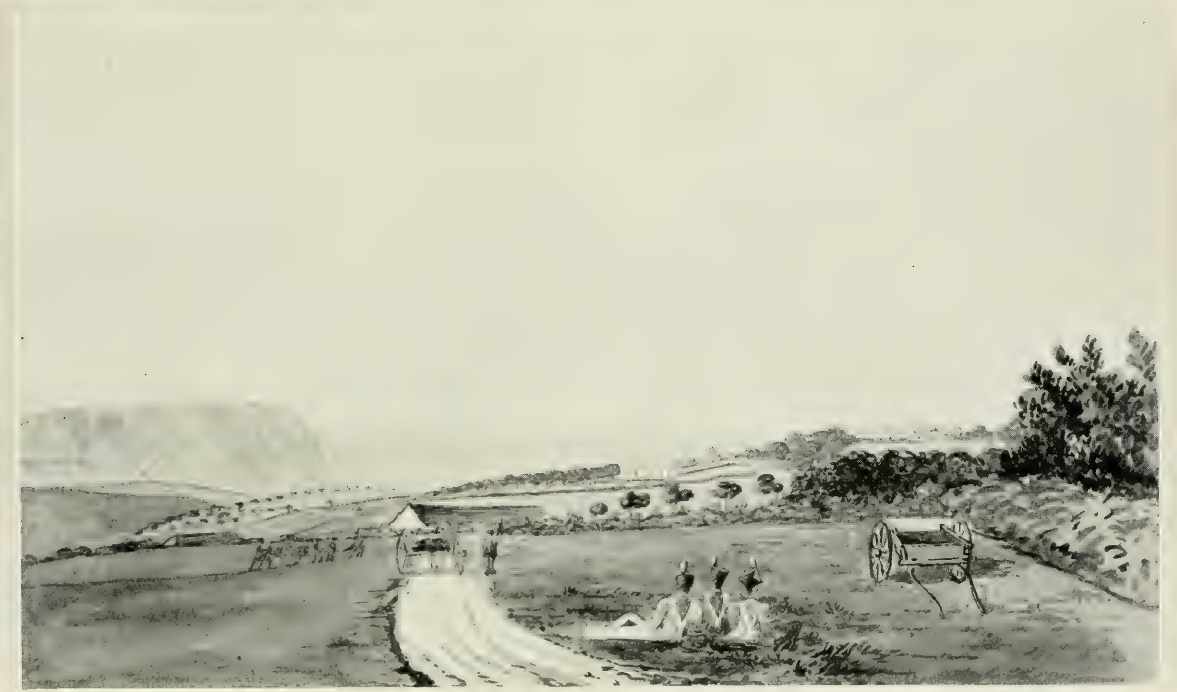
When Napoleon heard from O'Meara that Las Cases declined to return, he was very much astonished, said it was impossible (*questo e impossibile*), and made O'Meara repeat his statement several times before he would accept it. The reasons which had originally impelled Las Cases to wish to leave Longwood, the discomfort, the ennui, the quarrels, his weak eyes and his son's ill-health, the profitable state to which his journal had already attained, were now reinforced by other considerations. He could not bring himself to return, to be received with reproaches for his bungling, and suspicion as to the motives which prompted it. Gourgaud and the Montholons would use the unfortunate issue of the Scott affair to impugn his ability, and to suggest that he had ridden for a fall. Gourgaud wrote in his journal, that it looked very much like it. O'Meara wrote to Finlaison that the bungling had been deliberate, in order to earn a desired deportation. Balmain reported to his Government that the general opinion was to that effect. The remark of young Las Cases to O'Meara, already quoted, places the matter beyond doubt.

Las Cases would have stood, in the Longwood society, with a tarnished reputation both for ability and for loyalty. There was something still worse in the background. There was the fear of a permanent exile. When, later on, the orders of Lord Bathurst were received, it was found that the Minister approved of Lowe's offer to Las Cases to remain, an arrangement which he considered " likely to conduce materially to the comfort of General Bonaparte," but that if Las Cases made that deliberate choice, he must not " expect to be released from the obligation thus voluntarily imposed upon himself, upon any future change of opinion to which circumstances may give rise." Las Cases, in short, was to be a prisoner on nearly the same terms as Napoleon, for an indefinite period, perhaps for life. All the other followers knew that if their honour allowed it they could ask for and obtain leave to depart. Las Cases was to be denied the hope of ultimate freedom ; he was to be in a separate category, in permanent disgrace in the Longwood household, and confined to St. Helena for many years. He anticipated this decision, and was determined not to run any risk of such a fate.

Napoleon enjoyed the society of Las Cases, and would have been glad to have him tied to Longwood. He instructed O'Meara to tell him informally that the Emperor would like him to stay, but when Las Cases insisted on a formal pronouncement through the Grand Marshal, all that Napoleon would allow that high official to announce was, that the Emperor would be pleased if Las Cases departed and pleased if he remained. To a man anxious to remain, the latter phrase would have sufficed, but Las Cases was positively sick with desire to go. Bertrand tried verbally to induce him to stay, and asked him what were his reasons for declining. "Would you not like," he asked, "to give me for the Emperor some explanation about your position?" The reply was that the details were too long to enter upon.

While at Balcombe's cottage Emanuel became seriously ill, with Doctors Baxter and O'Meara both in attendance, and the Count himself was in poor health. They were, accordingly, at the urgent request of Las Cases, who wished to get away as soon as possible even from the neighbourhood of Longwood, removed to the Castle, at Jamestown. They were now close to the sea and the sight of it made Las Cases crazy with longing. He wrote in his journal: "The endless difficulties that had arisen, and my endeavours to avert them, had kept me in a continual state of agitation, and vexation of mind was combined with grief of heart. This complication of misery had wrought a kind of revolution in my whole frame. I suddenly felt myself ten years older. . . . However, making an effort to collect my strength, I once more begged that Sir Hudson Lowe would give orders for my removal as speedily as possible. He at length determined that my departure should take place two days afterwards."

Every day for some time past he had been bombarding Lowe with supplications to be sent away, to any part of the Cape of Good Hope, or indeed to any other place, and soon. Each moment was a torment. As for the promise to be removed in two days, his reply to Lowe was, "Would it not be possible to go sooner?" Bertrand reported at Longwood that, on finding that he could not embark at once, Las Cases became so distraught that he seemed to be in a state of delirium.



THE BARN, THE SEA, AND THE LONGWOOD HOUSES, FROM DEADWOOD CAMP

From a contemporary water-colour

When Napoleon became convinced that Las Cases had positively refused to return, although it had been made clear to him that the Emperor would like to have him back, he turned and rent him, announcing that he had always recognized Las Cases as a man below the standard of mediocrity.

Sir Hudson Lowe drew his character very well in the letter he wrote to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor at the Cape: "Count Las Cases is a man of considerable talents, of high literary attainments—exceedingly specious, eloquent, and insinuating—is, or appears to be, a fanatic admirer, or rather adorer, of Bonaparte—has lived in closer habits of intimacy with him since his arrival on this island than any other person who accompanied him, and has been certainly the most active in keeping up the irritation of his mind against all the measures of the British Government, even repelling ameliorations of his own situation when offered. He had besides infringed the regulations, in different instances, before his last separation. In other respects he is a person of highly polite and gentle manners, and merits the consideration due to him on such account." This is a discerning and, considering the rude calumniations of Las Cases, a generous letter. Lowe felt no rancour against the man in whose journal he found himself accused of moral turpitude of the basest kind.

It was at last arranged that Las Cases and his son should embark for the Cape, on the evening of the 29th December. A diamond necklace which had belonged to Napoleon's stepdaughter, Hortense, had been in the Count's keeping, concealed in a belt he wore; this he contrived to return to Napoleon. He had promised to lend the Emperor a sum of 4000 louis which he possessed in England.[1] Bertrand was sent by Napoleon on the 29th December to receive this money, which Las Cases promised to give him in thirteen bills of exchange of 300 louis each. It would almost seem that this was the amount paid for the privilege of departing. These proceedings occupied some time, and prevented the embarkation from taking place that evening, as originally arranged. Las Cases was consumed with anxiety at the delay "which," he says, "prolonged the conflict of my mind and lacerated my wounds."

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[1] In the "Mémorial," vol. viii, p. 32, tbis is represented as a gift, but later, when at the Cape, he writes (vol. viii, p. 128), of a deed signed by Napoleon, which constituted a claim for reimbursement.

On the 30th Bertrand visited him again, and after endeavouring for the last time to induce him to go back to Longwood, meeting with no response, he turned the subject to the bills of exchange, which were at length handed over. Gourgaud also came to say good-bye, and there was a reconciliation between the two, with mutual expressions of good-will.

Everything being settled, "Sir Hudson Lowe wrote for me several letters of introductions to his friends at the Cape, who he assured me would prove very agreeable to me. I had not the courage to refuse these letters, such was the sincerity with which they appeared to be offered. At length the long-looked-for moment of departure arrived. The Governor accompanied me to the gate, and ordered all his officers to attend me to the place of embarkation; this, he said, was intended as a mark of respect. I eagerly jumped into the boat which was in readiness to receive me." On the 30th December, 1816, the *Griffon* sailed for the Cape with the fugitives on board.

CHAPTER XVII

SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM

ON New Year's Day, 1817, Napoleon received all his followers, with their children, and distributed presents among them. To Hortense Bertrand he gave a bon-bon box which had been a gift to him from Pauline; he said it was worth fifty louis. To the other children, Napoléon and Henri Bertrand, Tristan and Hélène Montholon (the latter aged six months), he gave suitable toys. To Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon he had already sent in the morning a cup and saucer each, of the beautiful Sèvres porcelain. Now he brought out the box which Elphinstone had sent him, and gave to these ladies all that it contained in the way of shawls, stuffs, tea, etc. He gave Bertrand the set of chessmen. To Montholon he gave a cross in mosaic, to Gourgaud a spy-glass which had been a present from Caroline. He gave O'Meara a gold snuff-box, a fact which O'Meara at once reported to the Governor.[1] Then there was a family dinner party at which all the followers and their children were present.

The bright laughter of the children turned the Emperor's thoughts to the days of his own youth. He spoke to his followers of his early literary aspirations, his correspondence with Abbé Raynal, his letter against Buttafuoco, his "Souper de Beaucaire," and the essay on "happiness" which he sent in for the prize offered by the Academy of Lyons in the year 1791. He asserted that he had obtained the prize, which was not the case. The examiners expressed a poor opinion of his work. With talk upon these subjects, varied by close estimates as to the exact values of his snuff-boxes, which were handed round for examination, the evening passed agreeably. Gourgaud writes in his diary, " A good beginning to the year."

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[1] B.M., 20156, p. 5.

Las Cases was no longer there to foment strife, internal as well as external. Gourgaud and the Montholons were delighted to be rid of the rival who had stood between them and the Emperor, and they had not yet begun to fight for the vacant position of favourite. Napoleon missed the conversation of Las Cases, but the removal of that creator of irritation was followed by an immediate improvement in the relations between Longwood and Plantation. Napoleon did not cease to complain to his attendants of the villainy of Lowe, but there was less pungency and heat in his declamations. Sir Hudson was able to report to Bathurst, in March, that " nothing can possibly be more quiet and orderly than they all now seem to be." As a consequence Napoleon's health was visibly better, and his spirits brighter, in the early part of 1817, than had been the case when Las Cases was inflaming his passions against the Governor.

Sir Hudson Lowe's chief trouble now was with Sir Pulteney Malcolm. On the 21st September, 1816, Malcolm, who was about to sail for the Cape, had an interview with Napoleon. From this event developed the friction between the Admiral and the Governor, which ultimately grew into a quarrel. In Lady Malcolm's diary, which was dictated by Sir Pulteney, the following explanation is given: " The Admiral had no communication with Longwood from the 18th August till the 21st September, considering it proper to mark his disapprobation of Bonaparte's conduct to the Governor on that day. When the time drew near that he was to sail for the Cape, he thought it would be proper to pay him a visit of ceremony. On mentioning this to Sir Hudson, although he did not say that the Admiral ought not to go, yet he showed by his manner that he did not altogether approve.

They argued the matter amicably." Letters passed between the two in which Lowe suggested some objections to the proposed visit, and Malcolm—ever ready to give the Governor lessons in deportment—showed that it was only common, and necessary, civility. Lowe could hardly be expected to enjoy the process of being inducted into the secrets of good breeding by an officer who, on the island of St. Helena, was his subordinate. Sir George Cockburn, who had held a more responsible position than that of Malcolm, towards Napoleon, abstained from visiting the Emperor when he was about to leave permanently for England. Malcolm's absence was to be for only two months. There was no adequate reason for his making an unnecessary visit, in direct opposition to the wish of the Governor. It should have been his first and chief care to support the Governor's authority, whereas he was setting the example of defiance, and casting discredit upon Sir Hudson by parading his own good relations with Napoleon. Sir Pulteney's behaviour towards Sir Hudson was so incorrect, that people concluded that he desired to obtain the Governor's appointment—as, in fact, was the case. That such a rumour should have been current on the island is conclusive evidence of his improper attitude.

Malcolm was followed to the Cape by the deported party from Longwood, Piontkowski and the three domestics. Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor at the Cape, proposing that they should be kept there for some time before being allowed to return to England. But immediately on their arrival at the Cape Sir Pulteney Malcolm, disregarding Lowe's wishes, made arrangements for their departure as soon as possible. Lowe was justified in regarding this as officious interference. He learned afterwards that the Admiral had also, when at the Cape, criticized and blamed him, in conversation with the officers at that station.[1]

Soon after his return to St. Helena a disagreement arose between Malcolm and Lowe concerning the Admiral's regulations as to the relative quantities of private, and Government, stores that should be brought to the island in vessels under naval control. Lowe reported to Bathurst: "Nothing could be in more direct opposition to the system laid down on this head by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn than that followed by his successor; the whole object of my correspondence was to procure the supplies for the island in the same way as had been done under Sir George Cockburn."[1] Malcolm would not follow the system of Sir George Cockburn, preferring to make difficulties for the Governor in obtaining necessary supplies. Balmain reports: "The apparent cause of the rupture" (between Lowe and Malcolm) "is that the Admiral has with regard to the provisions of Saint Helena, taken a wrong course, with the result that we have been in want of wine, flour, fresh meat, and that all the horses on the island, without excepting those of Longwood, are still on half rations, and the blame falls on the Governor." Sturmer wrote to his Government in the same sense. The Commissioners, who had their causes of quarrel with Sir Hudson Lowe, took his part against the Admiral.[2]

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[1] B.M., 20130, p. 101.

Malcolm's object was to demonstrate the desirability of placing St. Helena under the unimpeded Government of the Naval Commander-in-Chief—to wit, Sir Pulteney Malcolm. At Longwood the idea was received with approval.

Within two days of his return from the Cape, Sir Pulteney was again with Napoleon at Longwood. In Lady Malcolm's "Diary" the support given by Sir Pulteney to Sir Hudson Lowe, in the Admiral's interviews with Napoleon, is always reported, but the fact that he sometimes blamed the Governor on these occasions is concealed. It was discovered afterwards that Malcolm stated at Longwood that he disapproved of some of the October regulations, and added that he had spoken to Lowe to that effect. This was a direct encouragement to Napoleon to rebel against the authority of the Governor. No loyal colleague would have been guilty of such conduct.

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[1] B.M., 20125, p. 66.

[2] Sturmer reported to his Government, on the 4th July, 1817: "We cannot congratulate ourselves enough at the departure of Admiral Malcolm."

It was at this time, in January, that, speaking to his followers of the return from Elba, Napoleon said that if the Royal Family had remained in France "it would have been a good thing if they had perished as a result of a popular movement; otherwise I would have imprisoned them at Vincennes with a guard of men like those who when in charge of the duc d'Angoulême wanted to put handcuffs on him. And then, in fact, if there had been a conspiracy in their favour . . ."[1] He did not think it necessary to complete the sentence. He had endeavoured to seize Louis XVIII, sending Exelmans with 3000 cavalry after him, in March, 1815.[2] It is evident that if the King had fallen into his hands his chances of life would have been small. Napoleon would have had him killed by "a popular movement," or executed in consequence of a conspiracy in his favour. If the King escaped these dangers he would have been cast into a dungeon, handcuffs put upon him, and the most brutal jailors selected as his keepers. Needless to say, there would have been no such comfort and freedom as were allowed at St. Helena.

With these views it must be supposed that Napoleon really believed that he had been sent to St. Helena in order to be secretly despatched. He could not understand why an enemy whose name was still a power, and continued existence still a danger, should be allowed to live.

On the 5th January, 1817, Sir Hudson Lowe went to Longwood with Colonel Wynyard, to examine the site for the proposed new house. He left word that he had relaxed one of the restrictions, that Napoleon might go into the valley whenever he chose. Napoleon, on hearing this, observed to his followers that they should continue their complaints: "Even if Malcolm were Governor and we had the whole island at our disposal, we should not be much better off."

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[1] The significant dots are inserted by Gourgaud, "Journal," i, p. 380.

[2] "Correspondance," vol. xxxi, p. 79.

Napoleon's irregular habits must have been very trying to his attendants. On the 7th January he was at work till 3 a.m. dictating to St. Denis. He was up at five and had breakfast and a hot bath; did not dress or leave his room or see any of his followers; at 7 p.m. he had his next meal, dinner, in his own room, at 8 p.m. he went to bed.

There had been a proposal, before Las Cases left, that the Admiral should mediate between Lowe and Napoleon; it came to nothing because the Governor would not permit Las Cases to have a private interview with the Emperor, before his departure. Napoleon thereupon declined all further overtures. Lowe now sent Sir George Bingham to Longwood with the mission of arranging a reconciliation, but Napoleon received the emissary in the most chilling manner, dismissing him after a few minutes of indifferent conversation. Lowe, with characteristic pertinacity, sent up to Longwood a box of superior coffee, which he had just received; it was better than anything he had in his own house. Montholon pretended to be afraid of poison, but Napoleon, to his great astonishment, said: "Take this coffee to the storeroom; good coffee is most precious in this horrible place. In fact," writes Montholon, "the coffee was excellent."

Reading the Imperial Almanack one day, Napoleon exclaimed, with emotion: "What a great Empire! I had a population of 83,000,000 persons under me, more than half the population of Europe!" Then he began to sing, to hide his feelings. Both Montholon and Gourgaud write in their journals, "What a man! What courage!": and Gourgaud adds, "What a fall!"

The Montholons were now the established favourites, and Gourgaud was in a chronic state of gloomy jealousy. Napoleon complained that Gourgaud had always a depressed air, when he ought to try and be cheerful and bright. " You always adopt an opinion opposed to mine. It is of no importance to me what your feelings for me may be, if you will only keep a pleasant countenance. I listen only to what is said, I do not pry into the heart. Do you suppose that I do not have unpleasant moments when I awake in the night and remember what I was and where I am now ? " During the altercation, which lasted two and a half hours, Gourgaud wept ; afterwards he had a fit of vomiting, and went dinnerless to bed.

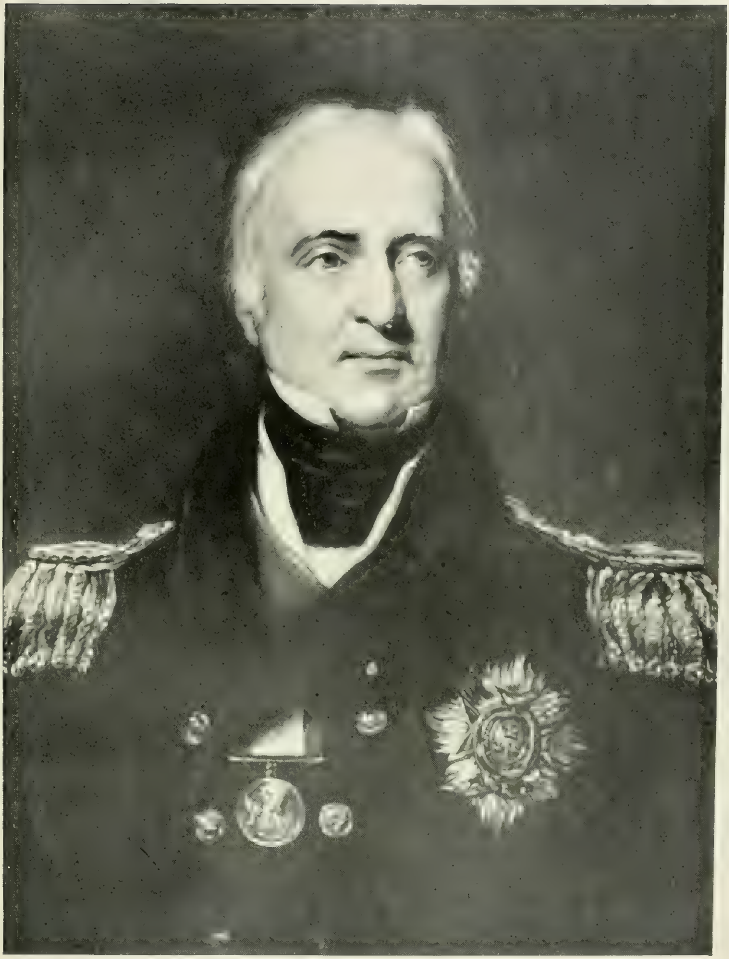
Next day the Emperor made Gourgaud and Montholon embrace in his presence. Napoleon had no room for permanent rancour in his heart. When he had spoken offensive words, in the heat of the moment, he would always later on make a friendly advance. So with his followers. Though some of their quarrels were his own doing, for sometimes he would play one against the other, for his own amusement, it always ended in his bringing them together again, and insisting on their making friends.

On the 17th January Madame Bertrand gave birth to a son. When, a few days later, Napoleon went to see her, she said : " Sire, I have the honour to present to Your Majesty the first Frenchman who since your arrival has entered Longwood without Lord Bathurst's permission." Madame de Montholon had already introduced a baby girl, on the 18th June, 1816, but she had not had the wit to make this remark. The Rev. B. J. Vernon baptized the child. The names given were Arthur Francis Alexander. There were family reasons for these names, which, oddly enough, were the Christian names of the Duke of Wellington, the Emperor Francis, and the Czar. Under the circumstances the absence of Napoleon from the list would seem to have been a deliberate assertion of independence.

On the 7th March Sir Pulteney Malcolm had an interview with Napoleon, in which he supported the Governor against the accusations and complaints of the Emperor. He told

Napoleon he approved of the Governor's action with regard to Las Cases, and the botanist Welle; said that Lowe had modified the October regulations to please him, and "had every desire to render his situation as agreeable as circumstances would admit," that Napoleon did not understand Lowe's character, and a reconciliation could be effected without difficulty, if the Emperor would consent to an amicable conversation with the Governor.

But Sir Pulteney also said, as he reported to Lowe himself, that Napoleon "would find you possessed considerable talents, had great attainments, and a particular knowledge of the events of the period in which he had been so conspicuous; perhaps you were a little too quick in your temper, but from all I knew and heard, I believed you had a good heart. You will forgive me," adds Sir Pulteney, "for being particular on this point." He could not deny himself the pleasure of dealing out praise and blame. Napoleon took advantage of his vanity, and flattered him with a display of appreciation. But no man in the Governor's position could enjoy being openly patronized by the Admiral, while resentment at the accusation of temper was inevitable. Sir Hudson wrote Malcolm a letter of thanks for his approval, together with a protest as to the expression about his temper, which Malcolm subsequently withdrew, so far as it related to interviews with Napoleon. "Both the times that I accompanied you to Longwood," wrote the Admiral, "I admired the coolness and readiness of your replies." Lowe replied: "I am much obliged to you for the readiness and kindness of your explanations as to the remark made on the quickness of my temper. So long as Bonaparte did not regard it in the light of any acknowledgment made to him for such a defect, I am quite at ease about it; otherwise as it stood it might have favoured one of the most unfounded accusations he has brought against me. In whatever light you may have spoken of it, be assured, sir, I feel most sensible of your candour, in your repeating it to me."



REAR-ADMIRAL SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM, G.C.B.

From the engraving by W. Ward, after the painting by Samuel Lane

Sir Pulteney Malcolm had been again guilty of disloyalty in telling Napoleon that the Governor had a quick temper, whether the fact were so or not; and it was particularly improper to make such an accusation to Napoleon, of all people, after the remarkable self-control the Governor had shown in face of the gross provocations of the Emperor.

The letter of the 8th March, 1817, in which Sir Pulteney reports his interview to Sir Hudson, concluded as follows: "In speaking of the letters written by Counts Bertrand and Montholon, I said that *neither you nor Sir George Cockburn, in my opinion, had taken sufficient notice of such improper letters.* I was satisfied that when he was in power he would have been angry with any of his Governors who had conducted themselves in so lenient a manner as you had done, towards those who by their indecorous language had insulted Government. He replied that allowance should be made for their particular situations. I answered that it was not difficult to be civil, when writing from the closet."[1]

The words here italicized have been cut out from what purports, in Lady Malcolm's "Diary," to be a verbatim copy of the letter. Sir Pulteney Malcolm thus endeavoured to conceal the fact that he said at the time, to Napoleon himself, that he (Malcolm) would have been more severe than either Cockburn or Lowe. The eliminated sentence, which contains the strongest passage in the letter, in testimony of Sir Hudson Lowe's mildness towards his charges, was of importance. Lowe referred to it in his reply to Malcolm, and also in his despatches to Lord Bathurst.

Warden's book arrived at this time, and Lowe sent it up at once to Longwood. Warden was the first to bring out a book on Napoleon at St. Helena; his work went through many editions. It was disapproved by both sides. Savagely handled in the anti-Napoleonic "Quarterly Review," it aroused a reply from Napoleon himself, the "Letters from the Cape of Good Hope." That publication in its turn produced the "Facts" of Theodore Hook, in 1819: to which O'Meara replied, also in 1819, with his "Exposition."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20119, p. 174.

During March, April, and May, 1817, Napoleon was in fairly good spirits, and would walk in the garden for hours, or in the wood, or towards Deadwood, sometimes attended by all his suite, the men in uniform with their hats in their hands, the ladies in their best dresses; on returning he would sit out in front of the billiard-room till after sunset. The ladies would doubtless be given chairs, but not the men. What this perpetual standing meant for them, is shown by a remark in Gourgaud's diary: he says, on one occasion, that he was glad of an opportunity which presented itself for escaping, as he was feeling tired and could not remain standing for three hours.

The followers did not become reconciled to their fate. Madame Bertrand kept saying that she would not remain much longer. Gourgaud had periodic fits of depression, when he would ask Bertrand whether the Emperor wished him to stay or not.

On the 14th March Sir George and Lady Bingham were somewhat coldly received by Napoleon, for a conversation of half an hour. Bingham had declined to lend himself to Napoleon's scheme of playing him off against the Governor, and was no longer in favour.

On the 25th March Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, with Captain Stanfell of the *Phaeton*, and Captain Festing of the *Falmouth*, were received by Napoleon in the billiard-room. All the suite were in attendance, with the exception of Madame Bertrand. The entire company, of nine persons or more, remained standing, while a conversation ensued on various subjects, between Napoleon and the Malcolms. Bertrand was allowed to put in a mild word occasionally, but Montholon and Gourgaud stood behind, one on each side of the billiard-table, and never articulated unless Napoleon addressed them. Napoleon moved about, as he talked, and

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[1] See Bibliography.

Madame de Montholon, when his back was turned, would venture to whisper to Lady Malcolm. She remarked that she might sit down if she was tired, but she preferred standing, the better to hear what Napoleon said.[1]

As the conversation flagged Napoleon proposed to Lady Malcolm a game of chess, and the table was prepared in its usual position in the drawing-room. He placed himself on a sofa and pointing to a chair opposite to him, said, " Allons, Madame." Madame de Montholon was also allowed a chair, but the men had to stand round the table and look on. " He desired Lady Malcolm to take the move," says Meynell. He " played very quick, talking to those around, and sometimes made bad and even false moves, of which both General Bertrand and General de Montholon told him. They also noticed a bad move she made, which he bid her take back. Lady Malcolm won the game, at which he laughed and said, they must try another game. He again desired Lady Malcolm to take the first move. He soon exposed his Queen, and as she could change with advantage she did so. He noticed that she seemed fond of castling, and on her moving a piece which defeated his attack, he said, ' Very well defended.' He won, and immediately rose, saying, the other room is cooler, and walked back. He observed to the Admiral that he did not reckon himself a good chess player, that he merely played to amuse himself sometimes."

His chess was played at such speed that he played, and lost, to the various members of his suite, Madame de Montholon included, eight games in succession in one afternoon. He did not play fair, of course, making deliberately impossible moves, when he desired ; and the rule " touch and move " would be insisted upon against his adversary, while he declined to adhere to it himself.

A Mr. and Mrs. Churchill arrived from India, with their two daughters. The mother was carried about the island by

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[1] " Conversations with Napoleon at St. Helena," by Captain Meynell, p. 54.

Indian natives in a palankeen, while the young ladies rode on horseback. Gourgaud lost his heart to the younger daughter, Miss Amelia. Sir Thomas Reade preferred her elder sister. Sir Thomas escorted the young ladies to the picturesque parts of the island, Rock Rose Hill and Diana's Peak. Gourgaud could not do the same, but he had a much bigger card to play: "l'empereur." Miss Amelia longed for an interview with Napoleon, and if that was impossible, a specimen of his handwriting, and Gourgaud promised to do his best. But Napoleon refused. Gourgaud then suggested that they should play chess for—a reception and a piece of writing. Napoleon agreed, but demanded that Gourgaud should stake four pigeons, to be shot by himself. Gourgaud was so sure of victory that he doubled his stake to eight pigeons. It may be presumed that Napoleon on this occasion made some effort to win. He set the pace, and they played with great rapidity, but though that might be in favour of Napoleon his adversary was far too strong. Gourgaud won three games in succession, and claimed the stake, but Napoleon then declared he would have to win five games off the reel. Gourgaud proceeded to win the next two, and again demanded an interview for Miss Amelia Churchill. Napoleon declined to pay. He said his refusing to receive visitors did him good with public opinion in England; it had a sombre effect. The hopes of Gourgaud and Miss Amelia were coldly destroyed by *la politique de Longwood.* Gourgaud obtained from the Grand Marshal two words written by Napoleon: *Français: disaient:* and he added two which he cut off a paper in his own possession: *Combattre: Lyon.* These he presented to Miss Amelia. It was more than Sir Thomas Reade could obtain for the elder sister.

On the 2nd April Captain Cook of the *Tortoise,* with Mr. Mackenzie, a midshipman who had been on the *Undaunted* when the Emperor went in her to Elba, were received. Napoleon told the midshipman he recognized him, though he had grown very much, but he afterwards admitted to

Gourgaud that he had no recollection of the lad. On hearing that Cook was to dine that evening in the camp, Napoleon cautioned him to avoid getting drunk: "drunk, drunk," he repeated.

On the 7th April, 1817, there were horse-races at Deadwood camp. Most of the notabilities were present—Sir Hudson and Lady Lowe, Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, Sir George and Lady Bingham, Sir Thomas Reade, Colonel Wynyard, Count Balmain, Baron and Baroness Sturmer, the Marquis de Montchenu, and M. de Gors, and General Gourgaud, who represented Longwood. Lady Lowe arranged to take Madame Bertrand, and left Plantation House for that purpose in the Governor's carriage, with Wynyard in attendance; but while on the way the signal was made from Longwood that Madame Bertrand would not go, and Lady Lowe had therefore to return to Plantation and leave again for the race-course in her own small carriage. Napoleon disapproved of Madame Bertrand being seen in friendly relations with Lady Lowe, and in the Governor's carriage. But Lady Lowe's intention was known, and she should not have been allowed to come half-way to Longwood on a polite and friendly mission, and then sent back; such rudeness is inexcusable, even in an Emperor. Perhaps it is just as well that Lady Lowe was never introduced to Napoleon.

Napoleon went to the Bertrand house, and had the windows of an upper room opened, in order that he might watch the races and observe the people, which he was able to do with his spy-glass. The open windows gave Madame Bertrand a chill. Next day she was quite unwell. Gourgaud writes: "While sorry for her I think it is just as well, for I feared that Lady Lowe might have been piqued, and, as she is as good as she is pretty, that would have been annoying: besides, she has always been pleasant, and it would have been rude not to return the politeness of those who make advances to us." At the race meeting Gourgaud paid his court to Lady Lowe, whom he describes as "a really charming woman."

Gourgaud was introduced to Balmain on this occasion. It seemed that the race meeting offered an opportunity for intrigue. There were to be races again on the 10th. Madame Bertrand being now quite ill, Napoleon ordered Madame de Montholon to go, and gave her instructions to ask Madame Sturmer for news of the Empress and his son, and to mention to her that meetings could easily be arranged in the Longwood park without observation. Madame de Montholon was to have a splendid dress, to make an impression on all, and particularly on Madame Sturmer; but Gourgaud declared that nothing she could produce would rival the toilettes of Lady Lowe. Madame Bertrand was so annoyed at the grand position given to Madame de Montholon that she begged Gourgaud, Master of the Horse, not to let her have a carriage. After prolonged discussion, Napoleon decided that Madame de Montholon should make no attempt to outdo Lady Lowe. She should be well dressed, and go to the races with her husband, on foot. That would give her a better chance of meeting Madame Sturmer unobserved. All this preparation, however, came to nothing, because the 10th April proved too wet and inclement for any ladies to attend the meeting.

Gourgaud went, and he met Balmain again, and conversed with him for some time on indifferent subjects. He discussed military questions with Major Emmet, R.E. He talked to Sir Hudson Lowe: "He is very pleasant and speaks to me about the races and the health of Madame Bertrand. I return quietly to Longwood," he concludes, feeling that after all the exciting discussions and preparations for Madame de Montholon's enterprise, things had ended very tamely.

Las Cases was necessary for the proper working of intrigue. Napoleon found the others very dull. "Ah! Where is poor Las Cases? At least he told me stories. The rest of you are so many night-caps."

On the 28th May the *Baring* storeship, Captain Lamb, arrived from England. On the 29th Captain Lamb informed

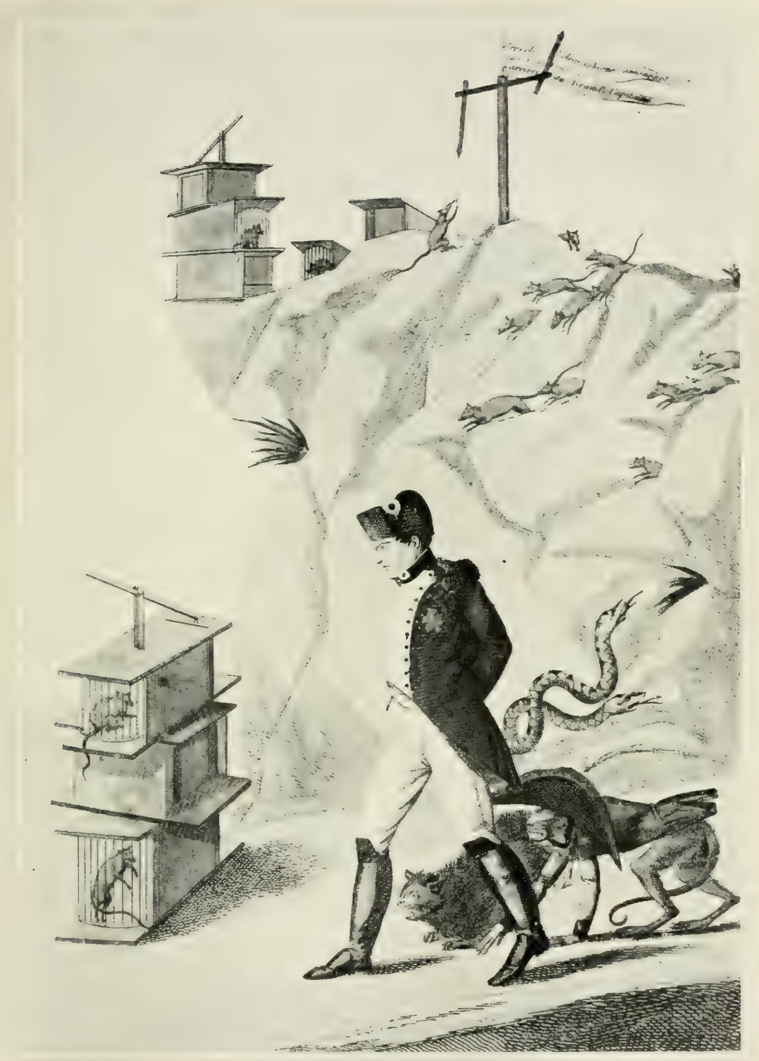
Sir Thomas Reade that, unknown to him, a bust of the former King of Rome had been taken on board his vessel before he left England, and placed in the care of a gunner named Radovitch, who was now suffering from apoplexy and was delirious and could not give any explanation of the circumstances. Reade told Lamb to have the bust, in its wooden case, put into his own cabin for safety, until the Governor's orders were received. He informed Lowe of the event, and said that as the bust was of marble, and could not have anything concealed in it, there could be no impropriety in sending it up to Longwood directly. Sir Hudson Lowe at first intended to keep back the bust, owing to the clandestine manner in which it had been forwarded, until he should have consulted Lord Bathurst about it, but he afterwards decided to send it up. He was shown a letter in Italian, written to Radovitch by Messrs. M. and G. Beagini, an Italian firm of merchants in London. The letter stated that the bust was the work of one of the most classical sculptors of Italy, who had made two copies from a portrait taken at Leghorn during a visit by the Empress Marie Louise and her son; that Marie Louise retained one copy and generously rewarded the artist, and that the price of the present bust would be left to the generosity of the Emperor. If he asked a price to be made, one hundred louis should be asked.

There was no truth in this story. The bust was of white marble, about half life-size, with the Cross of the Legion of Honour on the left breast. It is now in the museum of the Town Hall at Ajaccio, Corsica, and is attributed, in the catalogue, to Bosio. The child has long curls hanging to his shoulders, and a pleasant, chubby, smiling face.

The bust was sent up by Sir Hudson Lowe to Bertrand's house at Longwood on the 11th June. Napoleon would not have it brought at once to his own house, some 120 yards distant, nor did he go to Bertrand's to see it; he sent Gourgaud to unpack the case and tell him what it contained. When books arrived they were unpacked at Longwood House and Napoleon himself assisted in the operation. Gourgaud returned with the report that the decoration on the breast was the same eagle that His Majesty wore himself; he was then sent to fetch the bust. Napoleon was delighted with it, although, as he remarked, there is an excessive depression about the neck. He told Lady Malcolm it was a good likeness, the lower part of the face was his, while the upper recalled the Empress; and when Lady Malcolm remarked on the beautiful curls, he said, smiling with pleasure, "He has fair hair, like a Scot."

From these apparently barren materials, a charge of inhumanity was fabricated against Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade. It was said that Lowe had intended to prevent Napoleon from ever receiving the bust, and that Reade told Captain Lamb to break it in pieces and throw the fragments into the sea. Lamb, however, declared on oath that Reade never made any such remark to him, and that the first time he heard the suggestion was some days after the bust had already gone to Longwood, when he was being interrogated there by Bertrand. Gourgaud writes that Napoleon said the Longwood policy would be to assert that Reade had wanted the bust thrown into the sea, but that Captain Lamb would not do it.

This invention was the work of Captain Dacre of the *Experiment*, storeship, which arrived on May 27th, assisted by Captain Johnson of the *Ocean*, storeship, which arrived on the same day. Captain Dacre was the author of the extravagant "Letters from the island of Saint Helena exposing the unnecessary severity exercised towards Napoleon," published anonymously in 1818. Balcombe informed Napoleon that all the captains of storeships were not frightened by the fear of penalties, and that two of them (Dacre and Johnson) supported the accusation against Reade. It was from them no doubt that Napoleon heard of the bust immediately after its arrival. O'Meara also obtained this early information.



FRENCH CARICATURE

The French Ambassador in London wrote to Bathurst, after the *Baring* had sailed, saying that he had just learned there was a bust on board, to be delivered secretly to Napoleon, and expressing the belief that letters were concealed in it. Lord Bathurst reported this to Sir Hudson Lowe, with the remark that he was " not disposed to participate in the apprehensions with which he (the French Ambassador) has been impressed." Long before Lowe learned of these apprehensions the bust was resting on Napoleon's mantelpiece.

Napoleon gave Radovitch three hundred napoleons for the bust. The sailor returned with bills for that amount to London, but evaded any payment to Messrs. Beagini, and finally absconded to the Continent, leaving the enterprising Italians without any return for their outlay.

On the 4th June Captain Balston, of the *Princess Amelia* from China, went with Manning, the Thibetan explorer, to visit Bertrand and, while they were there, Napoleon walked in as it were by accident. He was much interested in Manning's account of his travels, and of his presentation to the Grand Lama, a boy seven years old. Manning was in appearance a curiosity, as he wore a beard. He left, as presents for Napoleon, various articles from the East, including tea, coffee, tobacco, two silk handkerchiefs, and two feather fans.

On the 14th June Colonel Fagan, Judge-Advocate General at Calcutta, visited Napoleon, whom he addressed as " Majesty " and " Emperor." Reade writes to Lowe, on the 20th June, 1817 : " I am very sorry to find that Colonel Fagan should have addressed Bonaparte as Emperor, particularly after I had mentioned to him that it was not customary or proper, and I even mentioned to him that Sir George Cockburn never gave permission for any person to visit him without first exacting from them their word of honour that they would address him as a simple General."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20118, p. 469.

Colonel Fagan boasted while still at St. Helena of his deliberate defiance of the Governor, through whose introduction he had obtained the interview with Napoleon.

Conduct of this kind, so damaging to the British Government, was encouraged by the party of the Opposition. The Hon. John Elphinstone, a member of that party, sent from China another box for Napoleon, which arrived on the 6th July. It contained a number of articles of Chinese manufacture, amongst them a superb set of chessmen, marked with eagles, N. and a crown. Sir Hudson Lowe sent the case up to Longwood, where it was unpacked in the presence of Napoleon, whose first question was, " What is their value ? " Gourgaud guessed £480, which Napoleon thought about right.

Lowe in forwarding the case, wrote to Bertrand that, if he had acted strictly upon his instructions he would have kept back the chessmen, owing to their being marked with the Imperial symbol. To this Napoleon dictated an angry reply, and Lowe rejoined that he was obliged to make the objection he had done, on principle, lest it should be supposed he saw no impropriety in such presents being expressly manufactured to the order of a British subject.

It was well known, since the experience of Hobhouse, that a present bearing upon it the title of Emperor would not be delivered. Elphinstone therefore thought out a way of drawing attention to the title without actually mentioning it. He was thus aiming a deliberate blow at the Government and its policy towards Napoleon. The effect was, and was intended to be, to encourage Napoleon in his complaints against the British Government and their representative. Napoleon was thus led to believe that he might succeed in influencing public opinion in his favour, by calumniating Bathurst and Lowe and maintaining an irreconcilable attitude. Naturally, when Bathurst heard of the Elphinstone chessmen, he wrote to Lowe that in future no present should be delivered to Napoleon upon which emblems of sovereignty were placed.

About this time books arrived for Napoleon from the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland. The Duke of Bedford sent Robertson's works in which he had written simply, " From the Duke of Bedford." Lord Holland sent " The Life of Lopez de Vega," in two volumes, of which he was the author. Inside the first volume he had written, " H. V. Holland. Hoc Napoleonis fortitudini et ingenio, non fortunae, munusculum mittit, 1817 " (H. V. Holland has sent in 1817 this little work in recognition of the fortitude and genius, but not the fortune of Napoleon).

Lord Bathurst wrote to Lowe that these presents could be considered " in no other than a political light—as a testimony (at least uncalled for) of respect and admiration for the public life and character of General Bonaparte. Such flattering advances made by two British peers, each having held a distinguished office in the State, must have a sensible effect on the restless and aspiring temper of the individual to whom they were addressed." All the English presents sent to Napoleon were from prominent opponents of the Government of the day, and it is not surprising that a member of the Cabinet should object to that kind of political attack.

On the 19th June Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm were received. As on previous occasions, when Napoleon attacked Sir Hudson Lowe the Admiral stoutly defended him, and he urged Napoleon—as he had done before, on the 3rd May—to take advantage of the arrival of Lord Amherst, who was expected to touch at St. Helena on his return from his embassy to China, and to accept the Ambassador as a mediator between himself and the Governor. Napoleon made no direct reply. He said, " You are so much of an Englishman there is no reasoning with you ; like all Englishmen, you think everything your countrymen do must be right, and a foreigner must be wrong." He gave Lady Malcolm a coffee-cup and saucer of the beautiful Sèvres china, with the Egyptian designs upon them. He said he would not give the

Admiral anything, for he had not a compassionate heart for a man in misfortune.

On the 27th June, 1817, Lord Amherst arrived. Sir Hudson Lowe asked him to make particular enquiries of Napoleon himself as to his complaints, and then to place before him any suggestion that might occur to him for the amelioration of the prisoner's lot. Napoleon, however, impeded these good intentions by declining to receive Lord Amherst until the 1st July, the eve of his departure, when there was no longer sufficient time to discuss and arrange any substantial changes. Napoleon's object was to send Lord Amherst to the Prince Regent with a verbal account of his grievances, without allowing Sir Hudson Lowe time to correct his statements. He did not perceive that this behaviour could only tend to prejudice Lord Amherst against him. His best chance was an open discussion of his position, with Lord Amherst as mediator between Lowe and himself, but he had never favoured such methods, with all the cards on the table, and ruined his case by the small trick he employed. When Lord Amherst repeated to Sir Hudson Lowe the various charges Napoleon had brought against him, the Governor had no difficulty in disposing of them. Napoleon's rejoinder could not then be obtained, and the result was that Lord Amherst told the Governor that he should report to the Prince Regent everything that Napoleon had said, and added that he should think it his duty, as an honest man, to say that he considered his complaints unfounded.

The Emperor had shown some nervousness about this interview with the British Ambassador. He went into the billiard-room half an hour before the time appointed, to see that all was in order, scolded Montholon and Noverraz for untidiness in their dress, and was visibly anxious that all should go well. He told his suite that while he was talking to Lord Amherst it should be their task to complain, to the members of the Ambassador's suite, about Sir Hudson Lowe and the restrictions. Bertrand, however, talked about the Mamelukes, and Gourgaud about China.

Lord Amherst was alone with Napoleon for about an hour. Mr. Ellis, Secretary of Embassy, was then introduced, for a private conversation, and at its conclusion the members of the Embassy were, as if at the Tuileries, marshalled by Bertrand in a circle which Napoleon went round, asking the usual questions.

Ellis writes:[1] "Buonaparte's manner was throughout dignified, affable, and pleasing, in person he was not by any means overgrown, and then appeared in good health. He expressed himself with great fluency and strength, the sentences short and epigrammatic. He walked backwards and forwards during his conversation, or rather harangue, to me. I was much struck with the expression of his upper lip: even when not actually speaking there was in it a tremulous motion approaching to convulsive, yet conveying the notion of his thoughts constantly pressing for utterance. Had Buonaparte been in the plenitude of his powers, his manner could not have been more dignified or more calculated to command respect." The testimony of the surgeon, McLeod, is to the same effect:[2] "Whatever may be his general habit he can behave himself very prettily if he pleases."

The 1st Battalion 66th Regiment arrived from Madras on the 27th June and 5th July, 1817. On the 14th July Napoleon received Sir George Bingham and the officers of the 53rd, who were about to leave the island. Napoleon had appreciated the first British regiment with which he had become acquainted, and the meeting was of a cordial nature.

Captain Thomas William Poppleton, of the 53rd, the first of the orderly officers at Longwood, had to leave with his regiment. Sir Hudson Lowe had been satisfied with him and recommended him to be promoted Major. Goulburn wrote Lowe on the 20th January, 1818, that the promotion had been granted, entirely owing to Lowe's recommendation, and that Poppleton had been informed that such was the case.[1] On hearing this Poppleton must have felt guilty, for he had, unknown to Lowe, espoused the cause of the exiles. On his departure he accepted from Napoleon a lock of hair and a gold snuff-box.

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[1] "Journal of the proceedings of the late Embassy to China," 1817.

[2] "Narrative of a voyage," etc., J. McLeod, 1818, p. 306.

Poppleton lost his wife in 1818. He lived with his children in the home of his wife's relations at Ross, Galway. "Throughout our childhood," says Mrs. Callwell, his grand-niece, "the gold snuff-box always stood upon the dining-room chimney-piece, and every visitor to the house was offered a pinch out of Napoleon's box. It was kept well filled therefore, white snuff at one end, black snuff at the other, and underneath lay a piece of white paper, as it had come from the jeweller's hands. Many years afterwards when snuff-taking had ceased to be the fashion and the box was only a curiosity, a gentleman to whom it was shown asked the reason of that piece of paper. 'To keep the fingers of the snuff-takers from scratching the box,' he was told. More inquisitive, however, than all who had gone before him, he prized up the bit of paper, and underneath lay another closely folded paper—a letter from Napoleon himself to the Count of Las Cases, sending messages to his adherents in France, and his wishes for the bringing up of the King of Rome. It had lain there for nearly forty years. Louis Napoleon reigned at the Tuileries. The Count of Las Cases' son, however, was alive, and to him the long-concealed letter, destined for his father, was sent."[2] Napoleon had reason to expect that when Poppleton found this letter he would send it secretly to Las Cases.

Lowe in due course learned that the snuff-box had been given and he reported the matter to Bathurst, who replied, on 7th November, 1818, that Poppleton on arriving in England had at once informed him of his having accepted the present, and that he did not propose therefore to go further into the matter.[1] Certainly the temptation to retain such a present would be great and the confession of the fault would diminish its importance. But Poppleton had also, before leaving Longwood, secretly accepted a copy of Napoleon's reply to Lord Bathurst's speech in the House of Lords, and had promised that he would get it published. He was encouraged in this course of clandestine hostility to the British Government by the similar conduct of Mr. Irving, Sir Pulteney Malcolm's secretary. Irving on the 2nd July, 1817, had an interview of some duration with Napoleon, who induced him to take a copy of the Emperor's reply to Bathurst.[2] When Malcolm next day introduced his successor, Rear-Admiral Robert Plampin, to Napoleon, and took his own leave, no reference was made (on either side) to the paper accepted by the secretary. Malcolm may not have been informed of the secret transaction, but at least it is plain that Irving would have declined to assist in a clandestine act of hostility to the Government, if he had supposed that he was acting in opposition to the desire of his Admiral.

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[1] B.M., 20121, p. 85.

[2] "Old Irish Life," by Mrs. Callwell, 1912, p. 226.

On the 4th July, 1817, Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm embarked on the *Newcastle* and sailed for England. O'Meara went five miles out to sea with them. It was through O'Meara that Malcolm's disloyalty was to have its greatest effect. Malcolm had been in the habit of employing O'Meara to take newspapers to Napoleon, thereby encouraging the navy surgeon in clandestine opposition to the Governor's regulations. He made himself the medium for the secret transmission of O'Meara's letters to Finlaison, containing attacks on the Governor.[3]

Except when face to face with Napoleon, Malcolm had done his best to undermine the authority of the Governor.

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[1] B.M., 20124, p. 232.

[2] Gourgaud, "Journal," vol. ii, pp. 179, 180, 330.

[3] B.M., 20230, p. 251.

He visited Napoleon in spite of the known disapproval of Lowe; he sent off Piontkowski and the three domestics from the Cape, against the wish of Lowe; he spoke openly in disparagement of Lowe at the Cape; he thwarted Lowe's efforts to obtain necessary supplies, in the hope of having him superseded by a Naval Governor; he encouraged O'Meara to work secretly against Lowe; and he let it be understood at Longwood that, in spite of his official approval, his real opinion was that Lowe was unworthy of his position. There are several references to this in Gourgaud's Journal: 27th January, 1817, "Admiral Malcolm had given them (the Montholons and others) "particulars of all the things with which we are threatened, the restrictions, etc." 24th March, 1817, "According to the Admiral the Governor is a fool who thinks that a few blandishments will efface his evil proceedings." 24th July, 1817, "The Admiral despises the Governor."

Malcolm's object was, while officially supporting the Governor, to make things difficult for him, arouse hostility to him, and ingratiate himself at Longwood, thus paving the way for the recall of Sir Hudson Lowe and his own appointment in his place. He made no secret of his desire. Gourgaud notes, 5th May, 1817: "The Admiral and Lady Malcolm would be very glad to be Governors in place of Sir Hudson Lowe." 19th June, "My opinion is that the Admiral wishes to return as Governor, and in that case, it is possible that in England he may try to overthrow Lowe." 5th July, Napoleon said, "We need only remove the Governor, *c'est un coquin*, he will not remain. Malcolm, on taking his leave, gave the assurance that we should have ample proof that he is not timid." 21st July, the Emperor said of Lowe, "Admiral Malcolm will replace him, it is certain."

Malcolm spoke openly on the subject. Sturmer reported to his Government that the Admiral had told him it was very possible that he would replace Sir Hudson Lowe, that he had written to England on the 15th December, 1816, offering to take Lowe's place for three years, at half his salary, provided the Commissioners were recalled. Montchenu had obtained the same story. Balmain reported that it was generally believed on the island that Malcolm was endeavouring to oust Lowe.

Sir Pulteney Malcolm desired to be the Governor, not in order to alleviate the misfortunes of the Emperor by making any considerable change in his conditions, for he knew that he would have to carry out the orders of the Government, and he had never suggested that any material alteration was desirable; but from motives of personal ambition.

He and Lady Malcolm were flattered by the attention Napoleon showed them. Sturmer reported to Metternich that Lady Malcolm's reception by Napoleon had "turned her head." Gourgaud says, 13th April, 1817: "Malcolm is a courtier; he will prostrate himself before the Ambassador who is returning from China" (Lord Amherst). 28th April, Balmain had said, "The Admiral is jealous if others than himself have communications with Longwood." 18th July, Napoleon said: "Hudson Lowe says I am the most subtle man in the world. I know how to affect a little mild air when I want to take in anybody. That is how I gained over O'Meara. I pretended to be ill when receiving Lord Amherst, so that at the time of his departure the Governor could not disabuse him of what I had said; I conquered that Lord, whom I recognized as a man of poor abilities. I have even gained Malcolm, who is a fool" (*un sot*).

It was to earn this character that Malcolm stimulated hostility to the Governor, encouraging O'Meara, in particular, to a course of insubordination and animosity, which was to have far-reaching results. Lowe wrote to Bathurst, on the 6th June, 1820: "I am justified in ascribing many false impressions entertained respecting this island to Sir Pulteney Malcolm and to his influence with the Elphinstones." Lord Charles Somerset "declared to me, in confidence, as his opinion that all my difficulties and embarrassments had sprung from such source."[1] Malcolm's behaviour bred disaffection among the English, particularly in naval circles, and encouraged the French in their complaints. They expected that his influence would be exerted in their favour in England, and that if they could succeed in discrediting the Governor sufficiently, a change in their situation might be obtained.

After Malcolm's return to England, the "Morning Chronicle," a paper which published whatever came from the sympathizers with Napoleon, reported that Malcolm was to be appointed a Lord of the Admiralty. Bathurst wrote to Lowe that he had ascertained from Lord Melville that it was not true, that such an appointment would raise the spirits of the Longwood inmates and seem to be an approval of Malcolm's opposition to Lowe. He added, what is particularly significant, that Malcolm had private—which means secret—information from O'Meara.[2]

If Sir Pulteney Malcolm, while making the most of his graces of manner, and of Napoleon's predilection for navy men, in order to establish good relations with the Emperor, had at the same time made it clear that he would not countenance any opposition to the Government and the Governor, the St. Helena story would have taken a different course. We should not now, a hundred years later, be exposing the falsehoods of O'Meara, and be pleading for a recognition of the generosity and consideration shown towards their defeated enemy by the British Government and the British Governor. But Sir Pulteney Malcolm wanted Lowe's place.

[1] B.M., 20130, p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20123, p. 91.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PAIN IN THE SIDE

ON the 1st September, 1817, Sir George Bingham introduced to Napoleon, Captain Nicol and the officers of the 1st Battalion 66th. They were taken to the *salon* at Longwood, and when they had ranged themselves round the room, Napoleon entered, dressed in the green coat, white breeches, and white silk stockings. The 66th did not become on such good terms with him as the 53rd, partly, no doubt, because Napoleon now seldom went out, and had given up issuing invitations to Longwood.

"Napoleon's first appearance," says Henry, who was present, "was far from imposing; the stature was short and thick, his head sunk in the shoulders, his face fat, with large folds under the chin; the limbs appeared to be stout and well proportioned, complexion olive, expression sinister, forbidding, and rather scowling. The features instantly reminded us of the prints of him which we had seen. On the whole his general look was more that of an obese Spanish or Portuguese friar, than the hero of modern times."

Napoleon walked round the room and spoke a few words to most of the officers. Bertrand, imperfect in English, and Bingham, not much better in French, were the interpreters. Napoleon asked Nicol, among other questions, "How many battalions of Sepoys, of equal strength, would you engage with the 66th?"

Nicol. "Sepoy regiments with British officers are good and steady soldiers. I should not like great disparity of force with them."

NAPOLEON. "Very good. You are a fine fellow. How many officers have you in your mess?"

NICOL. "Sixteen at Deadwood."

NAPOLEON. "You sit very late at the mess, I hear—often till midnight."

NICOL. "Oh yes; when we have a few good fellows there we sometimes don't stir till cock-crow."

NAPOLEON. "But the officers get tipsy then, don't they? *Drunk, drunk, eh?*"

NICOL. "Oh no, no, they don't get drunk."

Napoleon remarked to one officer on his dark complexion and suggested that it was due to indulgence in wine, "*Drink, drink,*" he repeated.

To Surgeon Henry he spoke of the liver diseases common among the troops in India. "Do you bleed and give large doses of calomel there, as the English doctors do here?"

HENRY. "I believe the practice is similar."

NAPOLEON. "Are you, too, a devotee of the lancet? Ah, God save me from it" (*Ah, Dieu m'en garde!*)

"As we walked back to Deadwood," writes Henry, "and calmly reviewed what had passed, the general feeling was disappointment; the interview had dissolved a glory, *par excellence.* A fascinating prestige, which we had cherished all our lives, then vanished like gossamer in the sun. The great Napoleon had merged in an unsightly and obese individual; and we looked in vain for that overwhelming power of eye and force of expression, which we had been taught to expect by a delusive imagination. At our mess dinner the same evening, our illustrious neighbour had evidently fallen off by one-half, from our notions concerning him of the day before. Of course, our conversation was exclusively occupied by the great event of the day, which would form a sort of epoch in our lives. Various and amusing enough was the confidential chat over our wine that evening. Some were much dissatisfied with the answers they had given, and wished the affair could be reacted, that they might behave better. One or two honest fellows acknowledged the loss of all presence of mind on the occasion." Napoleon's *Drunk, drunk, eh?* and *Ah, Dieu m'en garde!* when the lancet was referred to, were catch expressions for some time in the regiment.

News arrived of the marriage of Napoleon's sister Caroline with General Macdonald. Napoleon declared that he could not bring himself to believe it. At dinner, the pastry not being to his liking, he lost his temper completely, shouting that he would have the cook sent away. Seldom had he been seen in so violent a rage. O'Meara did not understand the cause of the Emperor's wrath, remarking to Gourgaud that he did not see why Caroline should not marry a General of good character. "*Sot*" (fool) is Gourgaud's comment. None of the English seemed capable of realizing that an Emperor's sister was committing an unpardonable offence to the dynasty, by marrying below the sacred ranks of Royalty.

On the 21st September, 1817, at 10 p.m., there was a sharp earthquake, which lasted ten seconds, a very unusual event at St. Helena. Napoleon at first imagined an explosion had blown up the flagship *Conqueror*.

On the 25th Montholon told his companions that Balcombe would appear next day at Longwood, sent expressly by Sir Hudson Lowe to announce that France was clamouring for the return of the Emperor. This fantastic tale was eagerly accepted. Napoleon went into the billiard-room next morning and kept his glass directed towards the Guard-house, in a state of impatient excitement. "You know the news?" he said to Gourgaud. "Perhaps the Governor has learned that Napoleon II is on the throne, then they will no longer be able to refuse me the title of Emperor." Gourgaud raised some doubts, to which Napoleon replied, "'Ah! You are always the same.' His Majesty is impatient at the non-arrival of Balcombe. At last at about two o'clock he is seen, he enters the Grand Marshal's house. The Emperor is tormented by this delay, complaining that Bertrand is keeping Balcombe and taking the virginity of his news. At last at three o'clock Bertrand comes. Balcombe has none of the news in question; he shows a newspaper in which there is mention of disorders at Martinique. His Majesty changes countenance, and storms, and demands to see Balcombe."

The disillusion and disappointment that ensued, stimulated Napoleon to make a desperate effort to obtain a change of residence, on the plea that the island of St. Helena was injuring his health. After hearing from Balcombe that there was no favourable news, he told the purveyor to announce to Sir Hudson Lowe that his prisoner was ill with scurvy, and had swollen legs. Balcombe reported to Lowe accordingly.

Napoleon now determined to buy O'Meara outright. He said to Gourgaud, "The English have no exalted sentiments, they may all be bought. I should have done well to buy Poppleton; he would have let me take rides alone on horseback. Do you think that O'Meara is on our side? He looks for a substantial reward. He values his place at £3000 sterling." A bribe was offered, and accepted, between this date, the 26th September and the 4th October, for Gourgaud writes on the latter date: "In a few days the Emperor will demand a consultation which may perhaps have the effect of getting us away from here, if the doctors are favourable. The Emperor is already sure of O'Meara and is convinced of his devotion. In my opinion it is the liver trouble that it would be best to have established, as the legs have been swollen since Moscow. His Majesty makes me feel them and complains of the pain. . . . The Emperor declares that with money one may win all Englishmen. 'That is why they do not want me to obtain it from Europe. The Doctor was not so much on our side until I gave him money. Ah! I am quite sure of that one.'"

The story of Napoleon's ill-health during the first years at St. Helena rests upon the assertions of O'Meara. Gourgaud's diary is unsympathetic; Las Cases is a falsifier. The medical attendant's testimony, which should have been decisive, is unreliable. We may quote a member of his own profession, Dr. Arnold Chaplin, who declines to accept any statement contained in O'Meara's " Voice from St. Helena " : " For O'Meara's evidence," says this eminent authority, " is not trustworthy in the absence of some form of collateral testimony."[1] The contemporary reports of O'Meara to Lowe are also of small value, for they were written with a political purpose, by agreement with Napoleon. The patient and his doctor conspired deliberately to exaggerate any symptoms of ill-health that might present themselves. Never before in his life had Napoleon made so many complaints, and about such trifles. It is thus impossible now to determine what basis of truth underlay O'Meara's statements. We can only assume that they rested on some feelings of indisposition, but there is no reliable evidence to show that there was anything in the nature of real illness during the period of O'Meara's attendance.

It was, as will be remembered, on the 5th and 6th May, 1816, that Napoleon first approached O'Meara, and that the compact was made by which O'Meara agreed to conceal Napoleon's remarks from Sir Hudson Lowe, unless they referred to projects for escape. O'Meara, on that occasion, made a parade of declining the bribe offered by Napoleon, but the Emperor felt satisfied that he had gained over the British surgeon, who required his patient's assistance to prevent his being removed by Lowe, to make way for Baxter. Soon afterwards, on the 14th May, 1816, appears the first entry in the " Voice " as to the health of Napoleon. O'Meara was appointed in August, 1815. It is curious that his patient should have been quite well for nine months, and that the first ill-health should have been noticed so soon after the compact of the 6th May, 1816. Then the most is made of an ailment of the slightest possible character. " Napoleon complained of being affected with catarrhal symptoms, the cause of which I attributed to his having walked out in the wet with very thin shoes, and recommended him to wear goloshes, which he ordered Montholon to provide." Napoleon received a number of visitors that day, he was "in very good spirits" on the 17th, "in very good humour" on the 19th, and there is no further reference to the catarrhal symptoms. They would never have been mentioned but for the dishonest agreement arrived at between doctor and patient.

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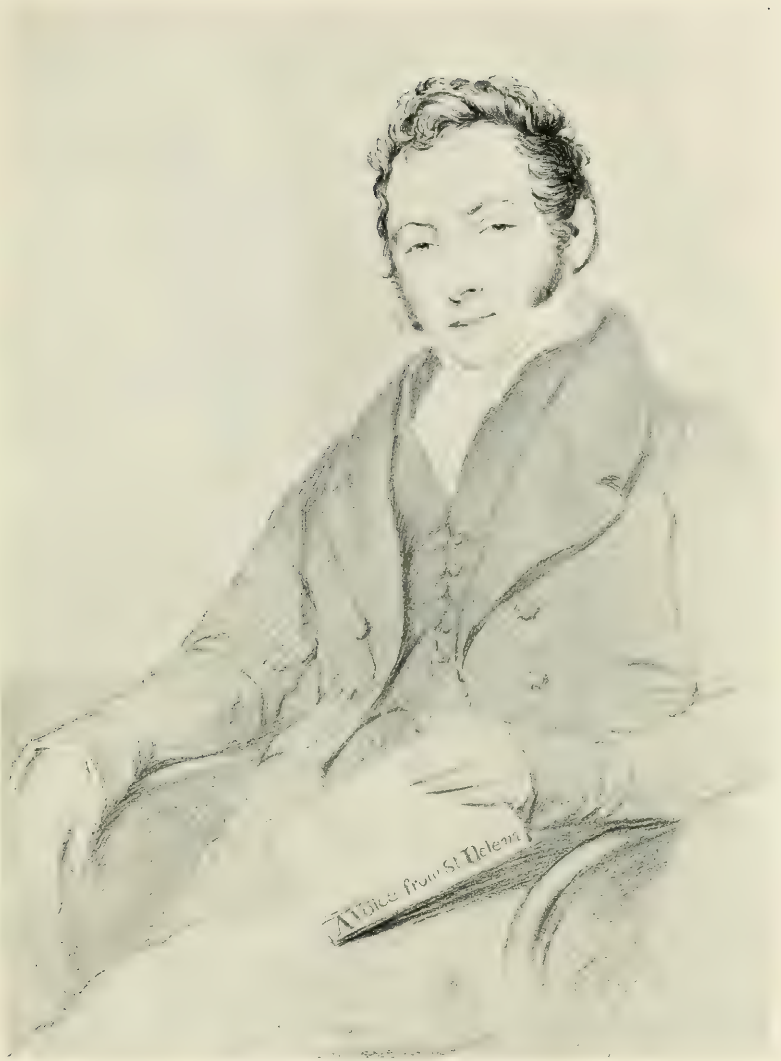
[1] "The Illness and Death of Napoleon Bonaparte," by Arnold Chaplin, M.D., F.R.C.P., p. 16.

After this time there are complaints of "a slight pain in the right side" on the 26th of July, a "severe headache" on the 14th August, another "severe headache" on the 7th September, with "headache, colic, etc." on the 9th, and Napoleon is "much better" on the 13th. He told O'Meara that he had suffered from occasional headache all his life. There was not much to be made of these trifling indispositions. In October, 1816, there were more serious complaints. Some light is thrown upon them by the events now to be related.

On the 19th June, 1816, Captain Hamilton, of H.M.S. *Havannah*, recently arrived in England from St. Helena, reported to the Commander at Portsmouth that a letter had appeared in a Portsmouth newspaper, giving particulars about Napoleon, and that it seemed the letter had come in the *Havannah*, and had been sent by O'Meara. The news of this publication was transmitted to Lord Bathurst, who wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe on the matter. Bathurst said that whether O'Meara had written the letter or not, he had certainly been the medium for its transmission, "and he may very probably have conveyed other letters of more importance by similar channels. It appears, therefore, that it will not be prudent to place any confidence in Dr. O'Meara; and unless his explanations are more satisfactory than I expect they will be, it will, I am afraid, be impossible not in prudence to remove him from the island, although I fully enter into the difficulty you may have in supplying his place near General Bonaparte's person."


A Voice from St Helena

BARRY EDWARD O'MEARA

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This despatch reached St. Helena on the 29th September, 1816. On the same date O'Meara received a letter from Finlaison, from which the following is an extract:

"ADMIRALTY OFFICE, *3rd July*, 1816.[1]

"MY DEAR O'MEARA,

"Your letters of the 16th March and 22nd April came duly to hand and furnished a real feast to some very great folks here. I also received a letter from you on your first arrival which was considered very interesting. Not a line of anything you have written to me since you sailed was ever made public. The moment your letters came they were given to Mr. Croker, who considered them extremely interesting, and circulated copies among the Cabinet Ministers, and he desires me to assure you that they never have been nor shall they ever hereafter be seen by any other person. I conjecture, also, that your letters have even amused His Royal Highness the Prince. They are written with that discrimination, good sense, and naïveté that they could not fail to be acceptable; and I am quite sure they have done a great deal of good at the Board, a proof of which is that the other day Captain Hamilton of the *Havannah* and Sir E. Thornborough reported in a public letter that a few hours after the ship's arrival a letter was inserted in the Portsmouth paper about Bonaparte, and that it had been traced that you were the author of it. Mr. Croker sent for me, and desired me to request you to be careful in respect to your private letters to any other person, as everything nowadays gets into the papers. But to me he repeated his hopes that you would write in full confidence, and in the utmost possible detail, all the anecdotes you can pick up, resting assured that none but the Government will ever see them, and to them they are and must be extremely interesting, as showing the personal feelings of your great State prisoner. Mr. Croker also desired me to request you would procure him a scrap of Napoleon's handwriting, which he wished to have as a curiosity. I received the ribbons and hair which I have already acknowledged with many thanks. I hope sincerely that your letters to me, which have done you so much credit with the Admiralty, and made you well known, will hereafter be the means of favouring your advancement, which will give me great pleasure. I hope also you feel your days pass agreeably there in your exile. It seems the Government wish as little as possible may be said about your guest. Therefore you have full permission to make this letter known to the Admiral if you please, and add my best respects to him."

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[1] B.M., 20236, p. 15.

O'Meara was thus encouraged to write secretly to the Government and was told to inform his Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, what he was doing; but it was not proposed that he should inform the Governor. He was given the hint that Ministers disapproved the publication of the Portsmouth letter. It is probable that he learned of Lord Bathurst's threat to have him removed.

Napoleon's ill-health immediately attracted his attention. Two days after the receipt of Finlaison's letter, on the 1st October, Napoleon had toothache, and a wisdom tooth is found to be "carious and loose"; on the 2nd the cheek is swelled.

On this day Sir Hudson Lowe, who had a few weeks before raised O'Meara's salary, demanded, in accordance with Bathurst's orders, an explanation from O'Meara about the Portsmouth letter. O'Meara denied the authorship. He remarked that he had not till then received any caution as to free communication, and that he would be more reserved in future. He thought Warden was the author of the letter. He informed the Governor that Montholon had, some time back, left with him a copy of the Remonstrance, with a request that he would contrive to get it published, which he had no intention of attempting; but that he had kept the copy.

Lowe now learned from O'Meara of the Finlaison correspondence. He naturally objected to reports being secretly sent to the Cabinet, and told O'Meara that all his correspondence ought to go through him, the Governor. O'Meara replied that his letters went from Finlaison to Croker and the Board of Admiralty, under whose orders he was; and he tendered his resignation, which Lowe said he was far from desiring. In spite of the Governor's explicit intimation, O'Meara wrote at once, secretly, to Finlaison, on the 10th October, 1816:[1] "If the communication which I make is transmitted by any means whatever to Sir Hudson Lowe, he will not be very well pleased with my having made it, particularly as he gave me directions not to communicate with even the Admiralty." . . . "He said that I ought not even to write to *them*, in which, however, I must venture to think and act otherwise." . . . "He added that my correspondence ought to go through him. I replied very respectfully that as I had been in the habit of obeying those received from the Board of Admiralty, under whose orders I naturally was, I had not thought it improper to communicate to them such information and anecdote as I thought they might be pleased with." . . . "Until, however, I have received directions from *you* not to correspond, I will continue to do so, or will, as I told him, resign a situation always delicate, and now peculiarly and embarrassingly so."

On the 14th October O'Meara sent Finlaison a copy of the Montholon Remonstrance: "As Sir Hudson Lowe expressed his earnest wish to me that it should not be sent even to the *Admiralty*, as he said he had not given the Admiral a copy of it, perhaps it would be as well not to allow it to come to his knowledge that I had sent it, tho' I conceive it a duty incumbent on me to furnish Mr. Croker with all the intelligence possible through you, and which I shall not fail to do."[2]

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[1] B.M., 20216, p. 18 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 20146, p. 66; 20230, p. 246.

Lord Bathurst had given Lowe a hint as to the correspondence, when he said that besides the Portsmouth letter there were "very probably other letters of more importance," but he left Lowe to find out for himself the meaning of the reference. When Lowe had been enlightened by O'Meara, and complained to Bathurst, the Minister replied that he thought it better not to interfere with the letters to Finlaison, as that might drive O'Meara to another channel of communication, and deprive him of knowledge of the contents.[1] Bathurst believed that his colleague at the Admiralty would obtain O'Meara's reports in spite of him, and condoned the treachery to Sir Hudson Lowe in order to be admitted himself into the secrets. He wished to dismiss O'Meara, and so put a stop to the underhand business, but could not do so as long as Napoleon was ill and refused to receive any other medical attendant.

According to O'Meara, Napoleon's ill-health continued. On the 15th October he had "headache and general uneasiness, and was a little feverish; his gums were spongy, pale, and bled on the slightest touch." On the 26th, "He had gone out to walk and was seized with rigors, headache, severe cough. Examined his tonsils, which were swelled. Cheek inflamed. Had severest rigor while I was present. '*Je tremble*,' said he to Count Las Cases, who was present, '*comme si j'eusse peur*.' Pulse much quickened." Next day, the 27th October, "Right jaw much tumefied, with difficulty of swallowing, caused by the inflammation of the tonsils, etc." . . . "Saw Sir Hudson Lowe. Informed him of Napoleon's state of health, and that he had attributed his complaints to the violence of the wind, and the bleak and exposed situation of Longwood." He was "much better" next day, but on the 30th, "There were many vesicles on the inside of his cheek and gums." On the 1st November, "Some tumefaction of the legs, and enlargement of the glands of the thigh." On the 5th he was "much better," on the 7th

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[1] B.M., 20121, p. 68.

" much better, and nearly free from complaint " ; and there is no further indisposition during November.

Sir Hudson Lowe had not yet any knowledge of the compact of the 6th May, and therefore accepted O'Meara's statements. He ordered O'Meara to prepare a written report as to the state of Napoleon's health, which was sent him on the 10th November. After describing the symptoms, O'Meara said : " The above-mentioned appearances have been evidently occasioned by the mode of life he has adopted for some months past, viz. an almost total want of exercise, as he has not been on horseback more than once for near six months, and latterly scarcely ever even in the carriage, or out walking in the garden ; confinement to his room for a succession of days, without even going out of it to dinner, being entirely occupied in such sedentary pursuits as reading or writing, in a room with the doors and windows so carefully closed as to impede the ingress of fresh air ; to which may be added the probable state of his mind. I have frequently strongly endeavoured to inculcate to him the absolute necessity of taking some exercise, either on horseback or otherwise, with the daily use of the flesh brush, but my recommendations have not as yet had any effect in inducing him to put in practice the first and most necessary part, viz. the exercise. By a timely adoption of the measures recommended to him, I have no doubt, Sir, that he would in a short time be restored to a perfect state of health."

On the 3rd December the " Voice " says that Napoleon again had headache, shiverings, and fever. In the night of the 13th he had what O'Meara describes as an attack of syncope ; which again occurred in the night of the 17th ; on that occasion St. Denis threw some *eau de Cologne* in his face, which got into his eyes, and by the intolerable pain it caused, restored the Emperor to consciousness.

There was an improvement in Napoleon's health after the departure of Las Cases, and by this time O'Meara may have felt reassured about his position. On the 1st January, 1817, Napoleon is " in very good spirits." 23rd January, " in good spirits." 3rd March, " free from any complaint. In very high spirits." 4th March, " in extremely good spirits." 10th, " in good spirits." 12th, " in a very good humour." 14th, " in very good humour." 16th, " in extremely good spirits, laughed repeatedly,"—and so it goes on. On the 26th May he caught cold again, but was better next day, and on the 6th June we return to, " Saw Napoleon, who was in very good spirits," and this satisfactory condition continued, with occasional intervals of toothache, throughout June, July, August, and the first half of September, 1817.

The improvement in Napoleon's health may have been connected with the receipt by his surgeon of the following letters from Finlaison:[1]

" ADMIRALTY OFFICE, *Dec.* 12*th*, 1816.

" MY DEAR O'MEARA,

" By the Revolutionnaire, etc., I duly received your 3 Letters of the 10th October, from page 1 to 30—with all the Inclosures complete, which have given abundant satisfaction.

" Not being certain whether this letter will find you at St. Helena, as we have reason to suppose you may be on your passage home, I forbear to add any details whatever till I have more certain accounts of your destination, but I will write the moment I can.

" I remain
" Your sincere Friend and most faithful servant,
" JOHN FINLAISON."

The reference to the passage home is explained in a subsequent letter from Finlaison:

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[1] B.M., 20231, p. 19 *et seq.*

"ADMIRALTY OFFICE, *Feb. 25th*, 1817.

"MY DEAR O'MEARA,

"I have by this same conveyance, and also by the Store Ship, written you merely two lines to own the receipt of your letter. We thought you would have reached home ere now, as we did hear that the Governor had determined to send you home. Lord Melville, however, immediately applied to Lord Liverpool to interfere and prevent it.

"Of one thing be certain, your reports have given infinite satisfaction and you and them are highly esteemed in the highest quarters.

"Sincerely yours,

"JOHN FINLAISON."

Lord Melville having interfered to prevent his colleague, Lord Bathurst, from removing O'Meara, the health of Napoleon improved, and for some time remained good.

Then, in September, 1817, came the great shock of disillusion as to Balcombe's expected revelations, the resolve of Napoleon to work for a change of climate by complaining that St. Helena was injuring his health, and the offer to O'Meara of the bribe which, as already mentioned, the surgeon—having recently obtained an increase of salary from the Governor—accepted. Coincident with this transaction were the symptoms of serious ill-health reported by O'Meara on the 26th September, 1817. O'Meara told the Governor that Napoleon was suffering from a swelling of the legs, and that his gums were spongy and bled easily.[1] Lowe proposed to Bertrand the erection of a wooden shed for exercise, where shelter could be obtained from the wind, and he again offered the additional advice of Dr. Baxter. Both proposals were rejected with contumely. Napoleon would not take exercise so long as the restrictions imposed by Sir Hudson Lowe continued in force, and as for Baxter, he was a poisoner.

[1] B.M., 20156, p. 12.

The salt water for a bath, which O'Meara recommended, was sent up from the coast, and the Emperor was able to enjoy the bath on the 1st October. On that day O'Meara wrote to Lowe: "This morning General Bonaparte complained of a dull pain in the right hypochondriac region, and a similar sensation in the right shoulder, neither of which were severe. Should the pain continue or increase there will be every reason to believe that he has experienced an attack of chronic hepatitis." Lowe at once cancelled the restrictions against Fisher's Valley and the road by Woody Ridge, and removed some of the sentries whose presence was alleged to make outdoor exercise impossible.[1]

On the 5th October, O'Meara reported to Lowe: "A tumefaction is also evident to the sight and touch in the right side, but I have not yet been able to determine whether it proceeds from an enlargement of the liver or is external to it. As he (Napoleon) has not been since the report (29th September) entirely free from pain, it is most probable that the complaint is chronic hepatitis."[2]

In these reports we have the first mention, just two years after Napoleon's arrival at St. Helena, of the pain in the side which was thenceforth complained of till the end, and of the supposed inflammation of the liver. The tumefaction was never again observed by any physician, and Dr. Chaplin discredits O'Meara's assertion with regard to it.[3]

The symptoms O'Meara specified would have justified a diagnosis of inflammation of the liver. Did those symptoms really exist? O'Meara's testimony is always suspicious, and we have now the knowledge that the first mention of illness of any sort occurred immediately after the compact of the 6th May, 1816; the first reports of something more than slight indisposition coincided with the receipt by Sir Hudson Lowe of a despatch from Lord Bathurst, suggesting that

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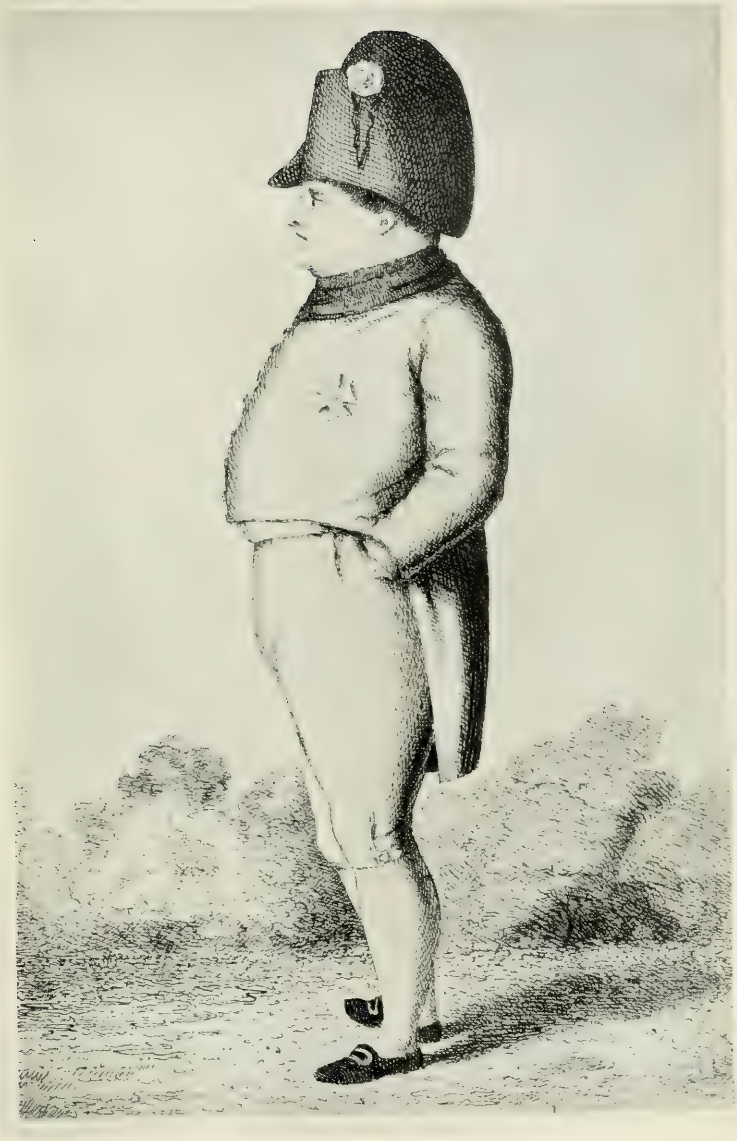
[1] B.M., 20120, pp. 1-3, 12, 56, 88; 20156, p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20120, p. 15; 20156, p. 13.

[3] "The Illness and Death of Napoleon Bonaparte," p. 17.



NAPOLEON IN 1818

After Basil Jackson

O'Meara should be removed ; improvement came upon the receipt of reassuring letters from the Admiralty ; the first diagnosis of hepatitis and tumefaction occurred just at the time when a bribe from Napoleon had been offered and accepted ; and the tumefaction is regarded by a high modern medical authority as an invention. In these circumstances we cannot accept O'Meara's statements as to the symptoms, and have to seek for outside corroboration.

Dr. Baxter had some non-professional talks with Napoleon. He reported to the Governor, on the 28th September, 1817, that " from the first time I saw General Bonaparte, it occurred to me that in all probability dropsy would be the complaint from which he would soon suffer. I was led to draw this inference as well from the evident flabbiness of habit and apparent laxity of fibre, as from the very sedentary life he led. This I mentioned to Mr. O'Meara at the time and repeatedly since, who coincided in opinion with me and also in strenuously recommending to General Bonaparte a more active and invigorating regimen, as his present mode of life would ultimately end in disease of a formidable nature. General Bonaparte disregarded this advice, and expressed a disgust with life, and a wish that some violent disease might attack him and carry him off. The swelling of the ankles is the incipient stage of dropsy and indicates debility and relaxation of the system generally."[1]

This professional man noticed general flabbiness and a swelling of the ankles. That condition he attributed, as also did O'Meara, to sedentary habits. O'Meara again reported to Lowe, on the 8th October, 1817 : " Yesterday, when I strongly urged to General Bonaparte the necessity of his taking exercise on horseback and expressed my firm conviction that, provided he put it in practice, his complaints would be removed in 12 or 15 days, he expressed his coincidence with my opinion, but at the same time declared that as long as the present restrictions existed he would never stir out."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20156, p. 18 ; the original draft is in Dr. Silk's collection. Las Cases (" Mémorial," vol. i) says that Napoleon's legs were " much swelled " already in the *Bellerophon* days.

Both Baxter and O'Meara thought that, if Napoleon persisted in leading an unhealthy life, he would become seriously ill, but both agreed that, if he lived a normal life, there would be nothing the matter with him. Baxter wrote to Lowe on the 29th October: "Napoleon Bonaparte is corpulent, of a leucophlegmatic, lax, flabby habit and a remarkably slow pulse, seldom rising above 60. . . . Could he be induced to alter his lounging way of life, to adopt an invigorating regimen with regular exercise on horseback, there is little doubt of his speedily recovering his sleep, appetite, and health."[2]

The existence of a serious illness, such as chronic hepatitis, is most improbable, if, as O'Meara himself asserted, and Baxter agreed, a fortnight's exercise on horseback would have sufficed to make Napoleon quite well again. Lowe, however, was impressed by O'Meara's assertions, and he restored the limits that were in force in the time of Sir George Cockburn. That concession merely led to further demands, into which Sir Hudson entered with his usual thoroughness. There ensued a vast amount of discussion with Bertrand, on the one side, and Lowe, Gorrequer, and Wynyard on the other. In the Lowe papers thirty-three sheets (20120, pp. 56–88) are given to it.

There were four principal matters:

1. The limits. Sir Hudson Lowe finished by extending them beyond the area included by Cockburn.

2. Sentries at sunset. Lowe kept them beyond the garden enclosure till nine o'clock.

3. Passes. Lowe was to be apprised of the names of the persons desiring to visit Longwood, and of the concurrence of Napoleon.

4. Letters to the inhabitants. Cards of invitation, or open

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[1] B.M., 20120, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20156, p. 21.

letters on urgent business, would be forwarded at once to their address by the orderly officer at Longwood, who would inform the Governor that he had done so; otherwise, all letters had to be sent first to the Governor.

These regulations, though practically quite as favourable as those of Sir George Cockburn, were not the same. Napoleon therefore declined to take exercise. He was influenced partly by policy, partly by inclination. As a Corsican he could never, however desperate the situation, give up the fight and accept defeat. The only hope now was that a change of residence might be obtained from a public belief that his health was endangered by the climate of St. Helena. To help this he was prepared, besides the bribery of O'Meara, to make himself really ill. He would not commit suicide, for his motto was "Only the dead do not return"; but, short of that, he would go to any length to prove the necessity of a change of climate, by exaggeration of his ailments, if necessary by actual disease.

He was assisted in carrying out this policy by his natural averseness to an active and outdoor life. After the novelty of the first rides and excursions, he had no desire for further outings. Mere exercise for its own sake he had never taken in his life. He was by nature a student. Las Cases observed, in the early days, that when a batch of books arrived the Emperor could not be induced to leave his rooms. Moreover, he could not go outside the Longwood area without being watched, though not followed, by the guards; and the feeling that he was confined to limits, that he was a prisoner, could never be thrown off, even when he remained inside Longwood grounds. He disliked meeting people, to be the mark for contempt or pity, or to be stared at as an animal in his cage. It was only indoors, where he was still absolute, and an Emperor, that he could escape these disagreeable sensations.

In addition there was the moral abasement. At the end of the first year Las Cases said that Napoleon was to be not last two years.’ ”[1] A moral degradation was inevitable. The monotonous, soothing climate, and the vapidity of the life at Longwood, would make it an admirable place for a thorough rest cure, on modern lines. For an active mind the atmosphere would be deadly. Napoleon had already suffered from the idleness and inaction at Elba. The mental decay that must have been going on at Longwood need not be insisted upon. One of the effects would be a physical inertia and indolence. What he did with himself in his rooms all day it is difficult to surmise. He read and dictated, and kept up his spirits by finding new adjectives for the Governor, but there was still a large surplus of time. It is even possible—the thought is painful—that he may have spent hours doing nothing at all, lying on his bed or sofa, or merely sitting in a chair.

Napoleon's seclusion—which he practised also at Elba—is thus easily accounted for. The effect upon his health was what he expected and desired. On the 6th January (midsummer at St. Helena), 1818, Baxter's report, derived from O'Meara, was: " The closeness and high temperature of his apartments is such that Mr. O'Meara some days ago was under the necessity of quitting them and getting speedily in the open air to avoid fainting. The windows are constantly kept shut, and he has a fire in each of his rooms, every crevice by which fresh air may be admitted being carefully closed. This, together with the abuse of the warm bath, must have pernicious effects on his health and readily accounts for his present ailments."

He would go out of these hot rooms to sit on a bench in the wind, or would have a window opened and sit near it in a

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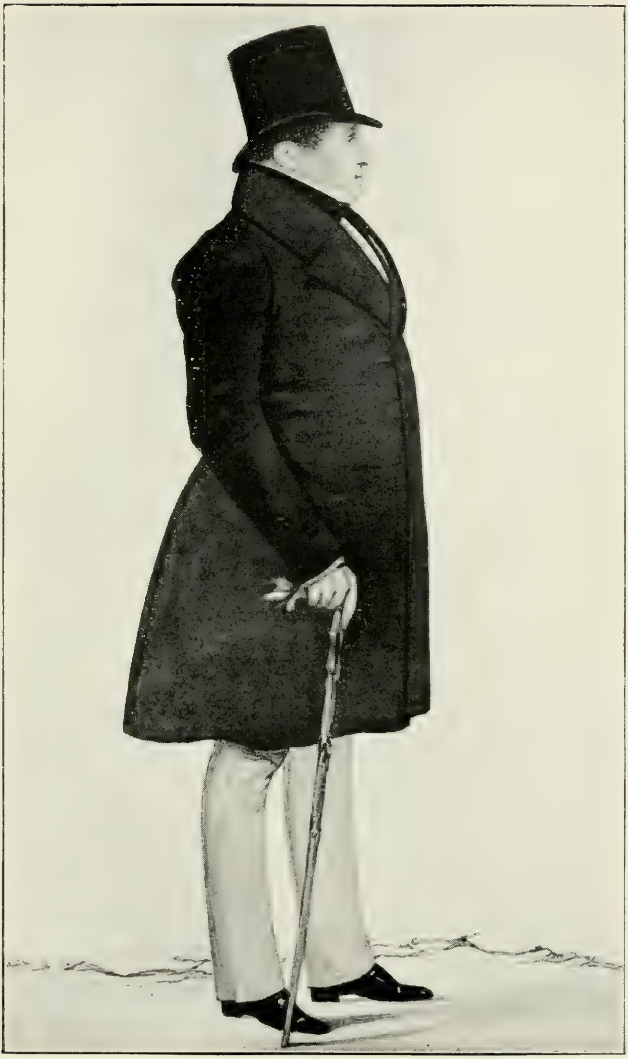
[1] "Lady Malcolm's Diary," p. 156.



From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

ALEXANDER BAXTER, M.D.

draught, with the inevitable result that he caught cold, and complained of toothache. O'Meara, on the 16th November, 1817, extracted the right upper wisdom tooth.[1] Napoleon at once went out for a walk and caught cold again, as was inevitable. In no climate can a man escape the results of such imprudence.

Copies of O'Meara's reports were sent by the Governor to the Commissioners. In one of them Napoleon was said to have palpitations. Montholon and Gourgaud had not been told by Napoleon of this symptom, and Montholon expressed his surprise on hearing of it for the first time from Baron Sturmer. He remarked to Gourgaud that "the Emperor would do well to inform us beforehand what he wishes us to say of his illness."

Napoleon complained to O'Meara that these bulletins, which were being sent to the Courts of Europe, spoke of him as "General Bonaparte," and declared that unless he was styled in them "the Emperor Napoleon," he would decline to receive him. O'Meara was accordingly instructed to write "Napoleon," or "Napoleon Bonaparte," and Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Bertrand, on the 6th October, 1817, that he would abandon the style of "General Bonaparte" and use instead "Napoleon Bonaparte." To this concession an abusive reply was sent, and on the 13th October Napoleon told O'Meara he should decline to see him unless the bulletins he was sending to the Governor were first shown to him (Napoleon) for his approval. Sir Hudson Lowe thereupon instructed O'Meara to discontinue the issue of written bulletins, and confine himself to verbal communications to Dr. Baxter, who would send written reports to the Governor. Napoleon declined to see O'Meara professionally for some days after the 13th October. When he consented to receive him once more, Baxter was informed of the symptoms, which he reported to Lowe.

From Baxter's reports it appears that the swelling of the legs subsided, and that as the result of giving up fires (which must have been stifling in the middle of the summer), discontinuing the hot baths, and taking a little walking exercise, Napoleon's health gradually improved.

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[1] B.M., 20156, p. 23.

The real extent and nature of the illness cannot now be ascertained. Baxter reported to Lowe on the 17th December, 1817, that O'Meara, on being asked "whether he thought Napoleon Bonaparte laboured under any specific disease, said that he could not affirm that he did." On the 20th February, 1818: "I remarked to Mr. O'Meara that it was something uncommon, that a complaint of the nature he supposed his (Napoleon's) to be should continue stationary for so long a period, particularly as he had never taken anything to arrest its progress, or with a view of removing the disease: he said it appeared equally so to him."

Sir Hudson Lowe was informed of these expressions of opinion. He was forced to conclude that deception had been practised upon him. He had at first believed O'Meara, and had done his best by offering to make a shelter for exercise, and by enlarging the limits, to induce Napoleon to take the exercise which O'Meara said would cure the illness; he had agreed to abandon the appellation "General Bonaparte"; he had consented to dispense with written bulletins. He had been as accommodating and considerate as it was possible to be. Then he learned that the illness had been exaggerated, perhaps even invented. As was natural, he distrusted, from this time forward, all the statements as to liver affection that emanated from Napoleon or O'Meara, and events were to prove that he was right. His suspicions were justified by the circumstances of the time, and confirmed by the subsequent discoveries.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL GOURGAUD

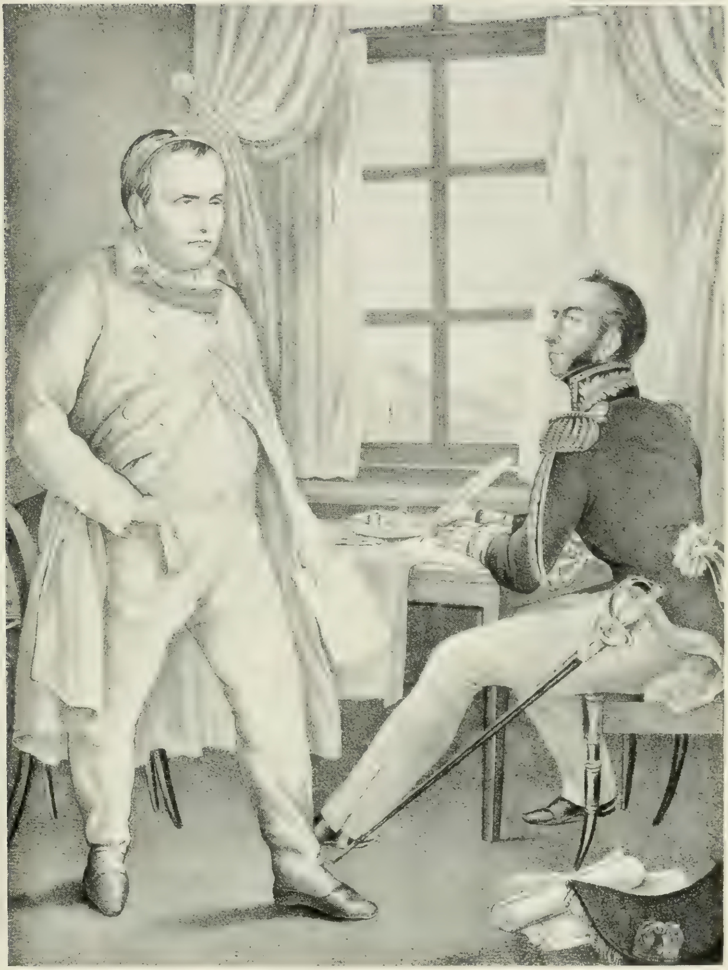
THE removal of Las Cases had wrung from Napoleon the exclamation, "Would that I could die!" He had lost the one skilful conversationalist of the party, and he saw that all the others were longing to go too. If new men came they also would soon have enough of Longwood, even though it contained the greatest man of the age. Truly the Emperor's fate would draw tears from stones. Apart from all the agonies of self-reproach for what was past, he had to endure a life of utter nothingness, in the society of men of mediocre abilities, and bourgeois antecedents, who could not avoid wishing for his death.

In this terrible situation the quarrels with Sir Hudson Lowe, far from injuring the morale of the prisoner, gave him an outlet for his humour, furnished a relief to the stifling monotony, and helped to keep him alive.

Gourgaud was the most unhappy of the followers. Montholon and Bertrand had their families. Some of the domestics—Marchand, for example—were in more responsible positions at Longwood than they could have hoped for elsewhere. But Gourgaud had lost a good position; he was young, a bachelor, and he lived alone. In the early days he dined at Napoleon's table with the other followers, but after the departure of Las Cases, and the completion of the apartments for the Montholons, there was no longer a convivial dinner party for him to join. As a rule the Bertrands and Montholons dined in their separate establishments, Napoleon in his rooms, and Gourgaud's luncheon and dinner were served to him in the solitude of his chamber. Napoleon would send for him occasionally, but whole days would pass without any summons. Then he would ask himself what purpose there was in his staying at St. Helena.

As early as the 5th December, 1816, Gourgaud was complaining to Bertrand that it was very trying to find that the Emperor showed not the slightest sign of interest in him, and had even spoken to him of the fortune that an officer of artillery might find in the United States. For His Majesty he had abandoned his mother, his country, his position, and he was well punished for it. If the Emperor did not like him he should at least remember the sacrifices he had made to follow him, though he had been under no necessity to leave his country. He was weary of it all. He would go straight back to France; they might do what they liked with him, he had nothing to reproach himself with. Bertrand assured him that the Emperor had not suggested that he should go to the United States, but was very fond of him. Later in the day Napoleon, who had Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon with him in the billiard-room, sent for Gourgaud, gave him an orange, and pinched his ear. "Well, famous Gourgaud?" "Say, rather, miserable Gourgaud," was the reply. "What is making you so sad?" continued the Emperor. Then he set him down to a game of chess, and did his best to raise his follower's spirits. "I was much heartened by all this friendliness," writes Gourgaud. To appease him further Napoleon would discuss with him questions with regard to the use of artillery in war, or dictate to him notes on the best manner of arranging a camp of infantry so as to be protected from a cavalry attack.

But Gourgaud was not to be consoled. He made scenes, and one day he sent Montholon a challenge. "To-morrow, if you are prepared, with your pistols; at the corner of the ploughed field; I shall ask Bertrand to act as my second." Napoleon had to interfere He expatiated to his followers on the advantages they enjoyed. They were very comfort-



NAPOLEON DICTATING TO GOURGAUD

From a lithograph after Steuben

able, very fortunate, they could go for rides accompanied by an officer. They had a good table. If complaints were made that was because one should always complain.[1] They could depart whenever they chose. They had already on previous occasions covered themselves with glory, they would be well received everywhere, they would have something to talk about for the rest of their lives. There was no Power which would not be delighted to employ them in positions suited to their rank. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, even the Bourbons, would receive them favourably, knowing how to appreciate those who adhere to a fallen sovereign. Turning to Gourgaud he said, " What matters it to me that you are an honest man ? You ought to devote yourself only to the task of pleasing me. You have the savage virtues, while Las Cases has the character of a woman. You were jealous of him, and were not ashamed to show it. You thought that by coming here you would be a comrade to me. I do not accept that position from anyone. Nobody may exercise influence over me. You hoped to become the centre of everything here, like the sun in the midst of planets. It is for me to be the centre. You have brought upon me all my annoyances since we arrived here. If I had foreseen it I would have brought with me domestics only. I can live very well alone, and, besides, when one is too weary of life, a stroke of the dagger is easily given. If you are so unhappy, rather than make a quarrel with Montholon, you can leave us."

In the end Napoleon, as was his wont, tried to comfort the object of his wrath. He called him "*enfant*," and as that was the expression he had been in the habit of employing for Eugène, Gourgaud accepted it as a term of endearment.

Napoleon's remarks contained the usual exaggerations. Gourgaud's prospects were dismal. He was without independent means, and had now no hope of employment in France or anywhere else, whereas, if he had given in his allegiance to Louis XVIII, he would doubtless have obtained a good position. He had, as he said, sacrificed his career, and apparently for no purpose, for Napoleon would tease him and snub him, for mere amusement, and the subsequent endearments came at too long intervals. The prospect of spending the remainder of his life in such a position was appalling. He suffered the extremes of boredom, and of injured vanity, with no hope of relief.

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[1] The fiction as to the want of sufficient good food is here exposed by Napoleon himself, when speaking in privacy at Longwood to his followers.

Napoleon told him one day that he was born "*canaille,*" and would always remain "*canaille.*" It was too much to expect Gourgaud to be always bright and pleasant to the man who habitually insulted him. Doubtless Gourgaud's vanity was excessive, his self-importance extravagant, his sensitiveness very trying, but Napoleon never showed the smallest concern for the real stress of his follower's situation. He was callous to human suffering. Well might Gourgaud write in his diary, that the Emperor was a great soldier, but had a hard heart.

On several occasions Napoleon observed to Gourgaud that he seemed to be going mad. To others he said, knowing the remark would reach Gourgaud, that he believed his follower would commit suicide. He went further. He told Bertrand to suggest suicide to Gourgaud, and when the Grand Marshal's hints produced no effect, the Emperor himself remarked to Gourgaud that he could always put an end to his misery with a pistol shot. To this Gourgaud replied with a proposal that they should all shut themselves up in a room, drink quantities of champagne, and allow themselves to be asphyxiated with the fumes of charcoal. The suggestion was not received with any cordiality.

The suicide of General Gourgaud would have furnished a very effective protest against the supposed maltreatment of the Longwood prisoners, and Napoleon would have been glad of so dramatic an event. His attempt to drive the young man to it, is enough to account for any resentment he may have felt against his master.

" Look at the Montholons," said Napoleon, " they are not sad and unhappy like you. They never open their mouths but to say something pleasant, while you have only harsh things to say." " Sire, the Montholons often speak very differently behind your back." "What matters it to me what they say behind my back, or what they think ? " On another occasion : "After all, I like only those who are of service to me, and so long as they are so. It is nothing to me what they think. I pay attention only to what they say. Therefore you should perceive that you should not annoy me with your frankness : keep that to yourself, I repeat that I pay attention only to what men say, and not to what they think. What matters it to me that you are sad ? When you are with me you should not allow that to be noticed."

Bertrand advised Gourgaud never to contradict the Emperor. But Gourgaud could not assume the manners of a courtier. He was an impossible companion for Napoleon, who had " a weakness for the title of gentleman," and could not dispense with the servile adulation to which he was accustomed.

Montholon does not appear to have been offended at Gourgaud's efforts to displace him. He at least was not born *canaille*, and he had no cause to fear the rivalry of a man without manners or tact. But Madame de Montholon snubbed Gourgaud, who accordingly detested her.

Then there was the question of Gourgaud's mother and sister. Already on the 22nd December, 1815, soon after the move from "The Briars," Gourgaud records in his diary that Napoleon said to him, " ' You are silly to think so much about your mother. Do you imagine that I am not fond of mine ? But you should be reasonable. Everyone has his day. How old is she ? ' ' Sixty-seven years, sire.' ' Faith, you will never see her again. She will be dead before you return to France.' " At this brutal remark, " I weep," writes Gourgaud.

On the 15th February, 1816, there is this entry: "I write to my mother by the *Zenobia*, which leaves to-morrow; I re-read the letters which my mother wrote to me in 1805, at the death of my father—I cannot go through with the reading, I suffer from feeling myself so far from my family, which has perhaps need of me." Then on the 28th May he opens the question to Napoleon, remarking that his mother has but a small pension. "'Ah, well,' says the Emperor, 'the first time that I write to the Viceroy Eugène, I will tell him to hold 1000 francs a month' (£480 a year) 'at the disposal of your mother.' My gratitude for so much goodness is extreme."

Gourgaud's diary is full of references to his mother. He thinks of her on her birthday, and notes every letter that he receives from her or writes to her. But he could not bring himself to ask Napoleon why he did not write the letter to Eugène which he had promised. It was not till the 20th January, 1817, that there was any further mention of the subject. Napoleon told his follower he had only to write out the order to Eugène and he would sign it. "I weep, and say to myself, that my being without means makes me very delicate on the subject." Napoleon hinted that he had a good deal of money to leave to those who remained with him at St. Helena. "His Majesty declares that he has often felt that he has need of me to write to his dictation, that I am the only one of us all whom he has reared and who has followed him in all the battles he has fought as Emperor. If he was not fond of me he would not take the trouble to speak to me in such a manner. I weep. He advises me to change my character." "I have been 2½ hours with the Emperor; I retire for *déjeuner*. I have a headache from the shock of this morning. I tell everything to Bertrand, who assures me that the Emperor is fond of me. At six o'clock the Emperor sends for me to the *salon*; he is alone, and makes me play chess. My heartache and headache compel me to excuse myself and to retire to my room; I vomit bile, take no dinner, and go to bed. At eleven Ali comes to enquire how I am."

Gourgaud was a very trying person. Napoleon sometimes had good cause to be annoyed, and sometimes endeavoured to make him happier. But the pension to the mother remained an unfulfilled promise. On the 1st March Napoleon told Gourgaud he knew somebody in Paris who would provide whatever was necessary. This was trifling with the poor man. On the 13th June, 1817, Napoleon gave Gourgaud two boxes of tea to send to his mother. On the 19th June he scolded Gourgaud for not writing out the order to Eugène for him to sign ; and added that if he died at St. Helena all his fortune would be divided between Bertrand, Montholon, and himself (Gourgaud).

Gourgaud then entreated Bertrand to speak to Napoleon about the pension, and Bertrand promised to do so ; but he always forgot. At last, on the 11th July, 1817, Gourgaud plucked up courage and mentioned the promised pension to Napoleon, who after a moment of surprise, wrote in pencil : " My son, you will oblige me by paying every year to Madame Gourgaud, the mother, at Paris, the sum of 12,000 francs, to count from the 1st January, 1817. To the Prince Eugène, at Munich." Having done this, Napoleon turned on Gourgaud and abused him roundly : " ' Well, yes, you have forfeited much of my affection,' " and a painful scene ensued. On the 14th Gourgaud presented to Napoleon a copy of the pencilled note and Napoleon signed it, and the affair seemed to be settled.

But on the following day Napoleon sent for Gourgaud and wrote the following note in pencil to Eugène, with instructions to Gourgaud to copy it out at the back of the letter about the pension. " My son, I beg you to open for me a credit of £500 sterling per month, with Messrs. Andrew, Street, and Parker. You will write to these bankers that Count Bertrand will draw upon them every month for this sum, and that they will honour the drafts." Gourgaud, sorely against his will, copied this out, and Napoleon signed it. Gourgaud regarded this letter as an attempt on the part of Napoleon to compromise both himself and his mother. He was so much upset at the thought that he could take no *déjeuner*. Napoleon was annoyed at this display of suspicion, and said to him: " 'Shall I tell you what is the matter with you? Well, you are deficient in courage. Here we are on a field of battle, and whoever in a fight retires because he is not in a good position, is a coward. Yes, this is more than you can bear, you have not enough courage.' I am in despair at being treated in this way by one for whom I have sacrificed everything," writes Gourgaud. For some time he declined to forward the letter to his mother with the compromising note at the back, but Napoleon roundly ordered him to do as he was bid. The letter was given to O'Meara for clandestine transmission to Europe. Gourgaud wrote in his diary: " The conduct of the Emperor towards my mother is disgraceful. What prevented him from writing to his banker in London, as he does every day, instead of sending in an underhand way to Prince Eugène?"

Gourgaud believed that Napoleon was deliberately endeavouring to make him compromise himself with Sir Hudson Lowe, hoping that he would be caught in an attempt to evade the regulations as to correspondence. He would then no longer have retained his character for acquiescing in the conditions imposed upon the prisoners. His good conduct throughout towards the British authorities was a standing reproach to the other Longwood inmates. Although Gourgaud was troublesome, Napoleon did not wish to lose one of his small band. He wanted to embroil him with Lowe.

This was the final blow. Gourgaud had already spoken openly both to Bertrand and to Napoleon himself of his desire to leave St. Helena. He now made up his mind that he would really go. The difficulty was to find an adequate excuse. If he complained merely that he was bored and unhappy, he would be told that he had not the fortitude of character to endure disagreeable conditions. After many violent scenes both with Bertrand and with Napoleon, he made up his mind that as soon as Madame de Montholon's health permitted, he would send a challenge to her husband.

On the 26th January, 1818, Madame gave birth to a girl. That very day Gourgaud went to Bertrand and told him that the time had come to demand satisfaction from Montholon. Bertrand managed to induce him to postpone his purpose for a while. The 29th January brought Gourgaud the recollection that on that day in 1814 he had at the battle of Brienne saved the life of the Emperor, by shooting down a Cossack who was charging at him with his lance. Gourgaud was immensely proud of this achievement, and incessantly reminded everybody of it, including Napoleon himself. The thought of what he had done for the Emperor increased his resentment at his present treatment.

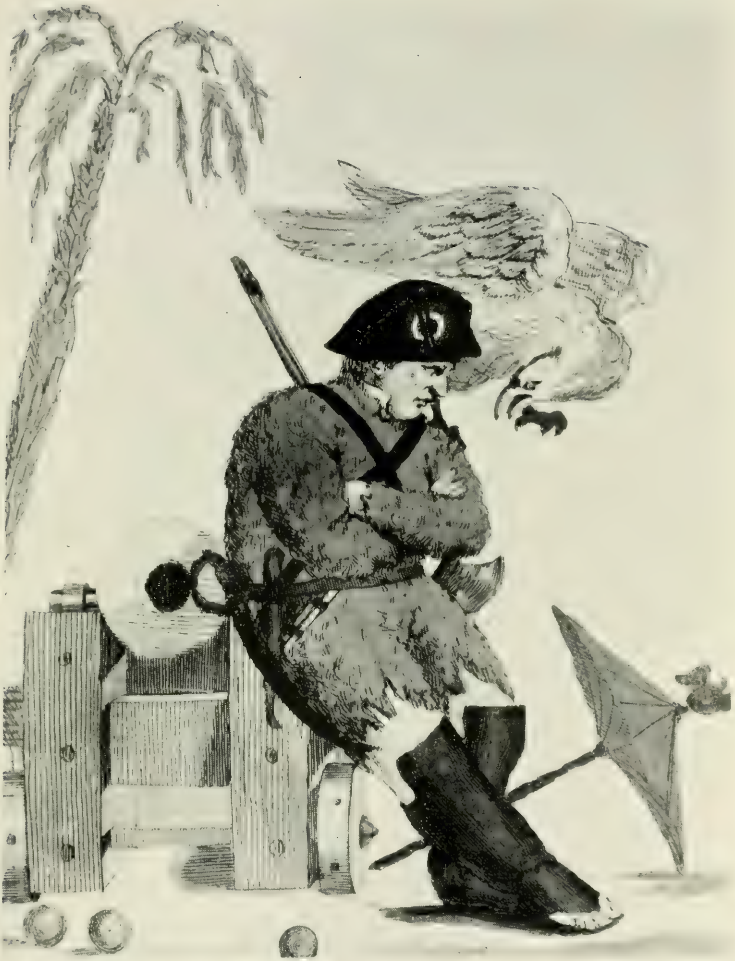
On the 2nd February he told Napoleon that he intended to challenge Montholon. Napoleon became enraged, called him a brigand, an assassin, said that he would himself fight for Montholon, that he would bestow on Gourgaud his malediction. Besides, Montholon would kill him. Bertrand being present, he declared that Gourgaud had spoken ill of the Grand Marshal. "Seeing that I was determined," writes Gourgaud, "and having exhausted all his artifices, he asks me what I want—to pass before Montholon ? that His Majesty should always dine with us ? to see him twice a day ? Stung by these remarks, I declared that an assassin, a brigand, has not the right to ask anything. Then the Emperor makes excuses. 'I beg you to forget my expressions.' I feel myself weaken and consent to abstain from challenging Montholon if the Emperor will in writing forbid my doing so. He promises, for if I decline to remain they would keep me at the Cape, and put me in prison. 'The Governor will imagine that you have been given a mission.'" But next day when Gourgaud asked Bertrand for the written order, all he got was a warm pressure of the hand. Just as in the case of Marie Louise in 1814, and of Las Cases in 1816, so now Napoleon could not bring himself to avow openly that he desired the company of any person, wife or follower.

Accordingly, on the 4th February, 1818, Gourgaud sent to Montholon the following challenge:

"To General Comte de Montholon, Chamberlain, etc.

"Longwood, *February 4th*, 1818.

"I had forgotten the wrongs you had done me, Sir, or, rather, I had pardoned them. I hoped that you would change; I was mistaken. You appear to be destined to injure me under all circumstances. Before you were ever with the Emperor I had already for a long time been in his good graces; since you have been with him I am out of favour. You are the cause of the bad treatment by which he crushes me, it has become such that I cannot be expected to support it any longer without being dishonoured. It is you, Sir, who are the cause of all my misfortunes; I demand satisfaction. I hope that you understand why I have waited till to-day. The fact that I have suffered will show the attachment I have felt for the Emperor. You thought to triumph in reducing me to the dire extremity of departing. You thought that my departure would be attributed to a want of the courage required in a situation such as mine is here; you thought that would increase your own importance; you who remain—you who experience only good treatment, etc.; you are now undeceived. Compelled to separate myself from the Emperor, to whom I have sacrificed my whole existence, for whom I have lost everything, I shall not depart until I have avenged myself for the success of your intrigues and your manœuvres; or I may fall under your blows, but at least in a manner more honourable and more worthy of a man of spirit than that which you have used hitherto; and whatever may be my lot I shall receive the



THE ROBINSON CRUSOE OF ST. HELENA

A French caricature

esteem of all honest men. That, Sir, is how I wish to quit Longwood.

"GENERAL GOURGAUD.

"P.S.—I have the right to choose the weapons; I leave you that advantage, but considering the circumstances in which we find ourselves, it is, I think, necessary that we should agree together as to the other arrangements. I beg of you, therefore, to tell me where we may have an interview on the subject."

After consultation with the Emperor, Montholon replied:

"To General Gourgaud.

"LONGWOOD, *February 4th.*

"I have received your letter, Sir. Several times during the last 18 months we have provoked each other. The Emperor, having been informed, exacted from me my word of honour that I would not accept any challenge so long as I was with him. Indeed, any duel between us would be a great scandal and an additional affliction to be added to his situation. In other circumstances, when I am free from my duty towards him, I will accept your challenge.

"COUNT MONTHOLON."

Gourgaud rejoined:

"To Count Montholon.

"*February 4th,* 1818.

"It seems to me, Sir, that if it were true that the Emperor had exacted your word of honour to accept no challenge, he would also have exacted your word of honour to conduct yourself as an honest man; for you will admit that it would have been cowardly to act as you have done towards me from the feeling that you had nothing to fear. Reflect, I beg you, on all the harm you have done me. You speak of a scandal, why do you provoke it ?

"GENERAL GOURGAUD.

"P.S.—I renew again the demand for an interview."

To this there was no response. Bertrand told Gourgaud that the Emperor desired him to write to the Governor, asking for permission to depart on account of ill-health ; he might write to the Emperor to the same effect. "Nobody will believe it," said Bertrand, "but it will be considered a suitable pretext." Gourgaud declined to write to Napoleon for permission to depart. He said the Emperor wished to make it appear that he was abandoning him, while it was His Majesty who was driving him away.

On the 7th February, 1818, Gourgaud went to Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House and demanded to be removed from Longwood. "I can no longer live there without dishonour," he said. "I have been treated like a dog. I would rather die in prison in France than live here, acting the part of a chamberlain, with the total loss of my independence. He (Napoleon) has wished me to do things contrary to my honour, or force me by bad treatment to leave him. I have told the Grand Marshal that I would say nothing against the Emperor, because that would do harm to myself ; but let them not attack me." Lowe received him kindly, and advised him to think it over, for he would be supposed to be leaving from inability to endure the conditions which others were able to sustain, or he would be thought to have a secret mission, and so be regarded with suspicion. To this Gourgaud replied, "I would rather be in prison than live in the way we do." Next day he took the final step. He wrote the following letter :

"To General Sir Hudson Lowe.

"LONGWOOD, *February 8th*, 1818.

"GENERAL,

"Since the severe illness which I suffered two years ago my health has been always more or less precarious. I have been quite often troubled with renewed attacks of dysentery, and of liver disease; to these physical pains have been added moral troubles. I have experienced great trials; their influence has been fatal; it has destroyed what little health remained to me, so that I am compelled to beg you to be so good as to facilitate my return to Europe, where the air of my country and the attentions of my family will alleviate my misfortunes. I venture to hope, General, that you have too good an opinion of me to suppose that I am acting from any but the most powerful motives.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"GENERAL GOURGAUD.

"P.S.—I should be much obliged if while awaiting my departure from the island, you would place me somewhere away from Longwood; I think the change of air would do me good."

To this Lowe replied that he would make arrangements in accordance with Gourgaud's wishes.

On the 11th Gourgaud had his last interview with Napoleon. He presented himself in civilian dress, to mark his independence. Napoleon received him kindly, but told him that he was right to go. He had served him well, and was a good officer. His Majesty would regret his departure, as he had been able to talk to him on scientific subjects and about the campaigns in which the others had not participated. "His Majesty was softened, he gave me a little tap. 'We shall meet again in another world. Well, farewell: embrace me. Go and see the Grand Marshal to compose the letter with him.' I weep, embrace him, and leave him at 5 p.m. The

Emperor goes into the garden; for myself, I go to Bertrand to tell him of my tears and of the heart of His Majesty. Mme. Bertrand is very distressed at my going to-morrow. She has seen Mme. de Montholon, who is in great spirits, and has spent a lot of money on jewels. Bertrand offers me 12,000 francs; no, I shall give lessons in mathematics. I retire with a torn heart."

The letter which Gourgaud wrote was in the following terms:

"To the Emperor Napoleon.

"LONGWOOD, *February* 11*th*.

"SIRE,

"At the moment of leaving this place I am afflicted with the most painful feelings. I forget all; I confine myself to the thought that I am about to separate myself for ever from the man to whom I had consecrated my whole existence. That thought is overpowering; I can find no consolation save in the conviction which I hold that I have always done my duty. I yield to fate. In my misfortune I venture to hope, Sire, that you will retain some recollection of my services and of my attachment, that you will even do justice to my feelings and to the motives of my departure, and that, in fine, if I have lost your good-will I have not forfeited your esteem. Deign, Sire, to accept my farewell, and the wishes I entertain for your happiness. Regret my fate, and when thinking sometimes of me, may Your Majesty say, He, at least, had a good heart.

"I am, etc.,

"GENERAL GOURGAUD."

To this Napoleon sent a short reply:

"*February* 12*th*.

"GENERAL BARON GOURGAUD,

"I thank you for the sentiments you express in your letter of yesterday. I regret that the disease of the liver, which is so hurtful in this climate, has made your departure necessary. You are young, you have ability, you should have a long career; I hope it may be a fortunate one. Never doubt the interest I take in you.

"NAPOLEON."

Gourgaud left Longwood on the 13th February, 1818, for a house which had been assigned him near Plantation House, where he had the company of Lieutenant Basil Jackson. He took with him certain books, given him by Napoleon, who had duplicates in his library, but no sooner had he gone than Napoleon sent St. Denis to demand the books back, as he intended to leave them to his son. In this small way Napoleon contrived still further to embitter the feelings of his former disciple.

On the day that he left Longwood, Gourgaud had an interview with Sir Hudson Lowe, which Jackson some years later referred to, in a letter to surgeon Henry; his account is corroborated by a contemporary despatch from Lowe of February 21st, 1818. Jackson wrote: "In justice to that excellent and grossly maligned individual, Sir Hudson Lowe, I shall now relate a circumstance which I am sure General Gourgaud will be ready to confirm. When the latter removed from Longwood, I accompanied him to the Governor's residence, where I took an opportunity to leave him and Sir Hudson *tête-à-tête*. Immediately on our riding from Plantation House together, the General broke out into strong exclamations of surprise that Sir Hudson should simply have received his visit as the call of one gentleman upon another, without even alluding to Longwood during the conversation. 'I expected,' added he, 'that the Governor would have seized with avidity so favourable an occasion as my excited state offered, to gather from me some information about the goings on at Longwood. *Je ne reviens pas de mon étonnement, non, je n'en reviens pas.*' These expressions of surprise he repeated over and over again during our short ride."

It had been the same with Las Cases, who found Lowe a very different person from what he had been taught to suppose at Longwood, where "everything is seen through a veil of blood." Gourgaud arrived at Plantation House, as Lowe reported in his despatch to Lord Bathurst, with "a strong feeling of irritation against those whom he was about to quit," he "spoke with great rapidity," but Lowe "did not encourage him to proceed in this strain." He was prepared and anxious to abuse the Longwood people, and tell tales against them, and Lowe stopped him. He never got over his astonishment at Lowe's "delicacy," as such honourable conduct was called in those days.

Others were willing to listen to Gourgaud, and even to encourage him. Asked by Sturmer about Napoleon's health, he said, "He will bury us all, he has a constitution of iron. His swelling of the legs dates from Moscow. As for his insomnia, since I have known him, he has never slept several hours in succession. As for his pain in the side, nobody has been able to make out exactly what it is." It would seem that while O'Meara was insisting publicly upon his diagnosis of chronic inflammation of the liver, he told not only Baxter, but even the Longwood circle, that he did not know what was the matter.

In answer to questions, Gourgaud made categorical statements to the Austrian Commissioner, which were duly reported to Metternich:

"STURMER. What did Bonaparte say of the death of the Princess Charlotte?

"GOURGAUD. He said it was one misfortune more in his position. Everybody knows that the Princess of Wales has for him an almost fanatical admiration. He hoped that when her daughter mounted the throne, she would take advantage of the influence she has over her to have him taken to England. 'Once there,' said he, 'I am saved.' He said to me when hearing the news, 'Well, there is another unexpected blow, this is the way that fortune upsets all our projects.'

" Sturmer. Does he talk sometimes about his future ?

" Gourgaud. He is convinced that he will not remain at St. Helena, and obstinately insists in believing that the party of the Opposition will succeed in removing him. He does not appear to have renounced for ever the hope of remounting the throne. ' If I return to France,' he said to me at our last interview, ' come to me and I will again give you my protection.'

" Sturmer. What does he think of the Bourbons ?

" Gourgaud. He contends that Louis XVIII is a revolutionary, and that by his conduct he is exposing himself to the greatest dangers. ' That is not the way,' he says, ' in which changes of dynasty are consummated. Prudence should have made him distrust all my marshals. He should have put all who did not belong to his party in a condition in which they could do him no injury. Labédoyère and Marshal Ney were not the only dangerous ones.'

" Sturmer. Does he speak of his wife and of his son ?

" Gourgaud. He complains of Marie Louise. According to him she ought never to have quitted Paris in 1814. ' Instead of Madame de Montebello I ought to have placed Madame de Beauvan with her. She would have influenced her in a different direction, and things would have gone differently.' He is convinced that but for this he would still be on the throne. He speaks often of his son ; especially of late.

" Sturmer. What did he say of the affair of Colonel Latapie and of that pretended attempt to carry him off ?

" Gourgaud. He says there may be some truth in it, but that he knows those people, that they are adventurers and that he would never have confided himself to them.

" Sturmer. Do you think that he can escape from here ?

" Gourgaud. He has ten times had the opportunity, and has so still at the present moment.

" Sturmer. I must admit that that seems to me impossible.

"Gourgaud. Eh! what cannot be done when one has millions at disposal. However, although I have much to complain of against the Emperor, I will never betray him. I repeat, he can escape alone and go to America whenever he desires. I shall say no more about it.

"Sturmer. If he can escape why does he not do so? The essential thing is to get away from here.

"Gourgaud. We have all advised him to do so. He has always combated our reasons and has resisted. However miserable he may be here he secretly enjoys the importance attached to his detention, the interest taken in it by all the Powers of Europe, the care with which his smallest remarks are reported, etc. He has many times said to us, 'I can no longer live as a private person; I prefer being a prisoner here to living free in the United States.'

"Sturmer. Does he continue to write his history?

"Gourgaud. He writes fragments, but it is probable that he will never finish it. When he is asked whether he does not desire that history should paint him as he is, he answers that it is often more advantageous to leave something to the imagination rather than expose oneself too much. It seems also that, not considering his great destiny to be completed, he does not wish to reveal plans whose execution has not been entirely achieved and which he may take up again some day with success.

"Sturmer. Which of you prepared the observations upon the speech of Lord Bathurst?

"Gourgaud. The Emperor himself. He dictated to us the greater part. It would have been well if he had limited himself to that, but you will see incessantly appearing in London, letters supposed to have been written by the captains of merchant ships, and in which there is much about the Emperor. They are by him. The style is bald, the details puerile, the conception poor. You would have difficulty in believing, for example, that the work published in the name of Santini is by him. He does himself more harm in that way than he realizes, but nobody can cure him of this mania for writing. In fact it is not Bertrand or Montholon that the Emperor needs, but the duc de Rovigo, the duc de Bassano—men of character, in short, who would have prevented him from perpetrating follies. How many have we not committed since we have been here ?

" STURMER. What is his conduct in the house ?

" GOURGAUD. He is excellent with the domestics, trying to make everything agreeable for them ; increasing the small talents of those who have such and making them for those who have none.

" STURMER. What is his attitude towards the persons of his suite ?

" GOURGAUD. That of an absolute sovereign. I have often seen him play chess for five hours in succession, and allow us to stand all that time, to watch him."

With regard to escape, Balmain reported that Gourgaud explained that Napoleon could have left the island in a basket of dirty linen, or a beer barrel, or a box of sugar, and that these methods had been seriously discussed at Longwood. There can be little doubt that Napoleon could have got safely away by some such device. In 1901 a Boer prisoner escaped from St. Helena in a packing-case. Napoleon had much greater liberty, and freedom from observation, than the Boers. Very little was known of what went on at Longwood, and all sorts of preparations could have been conducted in secret. There were captains of ships who would have taken him. He had plenty of money for purposes of bribery. Gourgaud's statement that Napoleon had it in his power to leave St. Helena is correct ; and when it became known there was much anxiety on the matter in Europe.

His further assertion that Napoleon would not, even if he could, leave St. Helena as a fugitive, though equally true, was discredited. People could not believe it. Napoleon would not leave St. Helena except in response to a public invitation, either from the British Government or the French nation. He would not attempt to escape in any undignified manner; he could no longer live as a private individual, and it would not have been easy to keep up his royal state in America: and there was, besides, the very real fear of assassination when he was no longer under a British guard. The facts are as Gourgaud stated. Napoleon could escape if he wished; he did not wish.

Gourgaud spoke in a similar spirit to Major Gorrequer. He said there never had been any difficulty in sending correspondence to England; that even if an angel had been sent as Governor the complaints would have been kept up: if Napoleon had been given the whole island to wander over unaccompanied, he would still have been dissatisfied: his abuse of Sir Hudson Lowe was not meant personally, but politically. "He wishes to be always Emperor: if there were only two persons in the house with him he would not be less Emperor. He wishes to be so always in his own house."

On the day when he left St. Helena, Gourgaud told Lowe that Napoleon had a large sum of money, some £10,000 in gold, much of it in Spanish doubloons, at Longwood, at the very time that they were breaking up the plate for sale.

General Gourgaud left St. Helena in the *Marquis Camden* on the 14th March, 1818, a month after his departure from Longwood. He landed at Gravesend on the 8th May, and had an interview on the following day with the Rt. Hon. Henry Goulburn, the Under Secretary. The tedious voyage of nearly two months had not quenched his determination to speak out. He repeated what he had already said at St. Helena.

There was no difficulty, he again declared, in carrying on secret correspondence with Europe. It was done through O'Meara and Balcombe, certain English visitors, or the servants, who confided the letters to the captains of the ships. Indeed, " the inhabitants of Longwood have regarded it as a matter of small difficulty to procure a passage on board one of these ships for General Bonaparte, if escape should at any time be his object." He repeated what he had said at St. Helena about the practicability of Napoleon making his escape, as " there was no difficulty in eluding at any time the vigilance of the sentries posted round the house and grounds "; but Napoleon would not make the attempt, alleging that he would be removed from St. Helena when there was a change of Government in England, or when the Allied armies left France.

" Upon the subject of General Bonaparte's health, General Gourgaud stated that we were much imposed upon ; that General Bonaparte was not, as far as bodily health was concerned, in any degree materially altered ; and that the representations on this subject had little, if any, truth in them. Dr. O'Meara was certainly the dupe of that influence which General Bonaparte always exercised over those with whom he had frequent intercourse ; and though he (General Gourgaud) individually had only reason ' *de se louer de* Mr. O'Meara,' yet his intimate knowledge of General Bonaparte enabled him confidently to assert, that his bodily health was not at all worse than it had been for some time previous to his arrival at St. Helena."

On the next day, the 10th May, 1818, Gourgaud had an audience of four hours with the Marquis d'Osmond, the French Ambassador at London. Gourgaud repeated what he had already said so often. Napoleon was not at all ill: he carried on an active correspondence : he could escape. " It seems," reports the Marquis d'Osmond, " that at Longwood they are more occupied with the future than the past : save for the baulked ambition the present is pleasant enough there : the climate, the house, the food, the regulations do not justify the complaints of the comrades."

Finally, Gourgaud had an interview with the Comte de Lieven, the Russian Ambassador at London, to whom he told the same story. In his report Comte de Lieven says of the

Longwood freedom and comforts: "These mistaken indulgences must be attributed to the disagreeable responsibility which rests upon the English Government and the constant fear of public attacks by the Opposition, on the subject of Bonaparte." With regard to Gourgaud's motive for leaving Napoleon, "he told me that the humours of Bonaparte had become so atrabilious and existence with him so hard and painful, that he felt he had no longer the patience to endure it; and that in spite of his attachment to him he had made up his mind to leave him; that those were the motives of his departure, and that his pretended quarrel with Montholon had served only as a pretext, as a feeling of respect and delicacy towards Bonaparte had prevented him from admitting the true cause of his separation from him. He confirmed to me what he had said about the health of Bonaparte, which is perfect, the reports of Dr. O'Meara on that subject are false."

Montholon, in his "Récits de la Captivité," published nearly thirty years later, asserted that Gourgaud was entrusted by Napoleon with a secret mission, which he was to conceal by making a parade of being very candid and truthful. In support of this theory, Montholon fabricated a letter beginning with the words, "The Emperor, my dear Gourgaud, considers you are overdoing your part." It is a forgery. There is no reference in Gourgaud's diary to the mission, nor any evidence in support of it. Masson (Autour de Sainte-Hélène, vol. i, "Le cas de Général Gourgaud") has sufficiently exposed the invention of Montholon.

Gourgaud may have supposed that his revelations would assist him to obtain a position under the Bourbon Government, a desire to help his own future may certainly have been one of his motives. But the chief of them was a feeling of rancour against Napoleon, coupled with disgust at the trickery of Longwood, which were so foreign to his own nature. In his diary he had been writing down, from day to day, his objections to these proceedings, and he ostentatiously kept himself aloof from them. When he felt himself no longer bound to acquiesce, it was natural that he should give expression to the feelings he had all along entertained.

For example, on the 21st January, 1818, Gourgaud writes: "Yesterday, His Majesty assured me that he had never been so strong as he is at the present time. He had small desire for sleep, and that may point to the approach of an illness." This was Gourgaud's information only a month before he left Longwood. Being a truthful man, he then expressed what he had reason to believe were the facts.

The statements of Gourgaud, solemnly made, and reported to the highest British and foreign officials, first at St. Helena and then in London, are worthy of acceptance, because they are such as would be natural to the character of the man who had always held aloof from *la politique de Longwood,* because they are in accordance with what he wrote down at Longwood in his private journal every day, and because they are corroborated by all the other reliable evidence.

Gourgaud declared that Napoleon was in good health, the reports of O'Meara being false; as for the pain in the side, nobody knew what it was. He was in a good climate, was comfortably lodged, and there was no stint of provisions. He had it in his power to escape, but declined to make the attempt. He hoped to be recalled to England when the Whig Opposition came into power, or to France by a popular demand when the Allied troops had evacuated the country. He had no difficulty in keeping up a secret correspondence, and could always obtain whatever money he desired. He was affable to his domestics, though he insisted upon being treated as an Emperor in his own house, at whatever cost of discomfort to those about him.

In short, Napoleon was well treated, and had rather more freedom than was quite safe. That was Gourgaud's opinion. It is also the verdict of history.

CHAPTER XX

THE DISMISSAL OF O'MEARA

NAPOLEON was now to experience another loss. Cipriani, the major-domo, on the 23rd February, 1818, was seized with violent internal pains. Dr. Arnold Chaplin informs me that the symptoms point to acute appendicitis ending in perforation. Though attended by Baxter and Henry, in addition to O'Meara, Cipriani died after an illness of four days, on the 27th February, 1818.

Napoleon had a sincere affection for Cipriani, and was much distressed at his death. Baxter reported to Lowe on the 27th, that Napoleon " is low-spirited and looks ill to-day, probably owing to the approaching death of his faithful servant Cipriani." Indeed Napoleon had experienced a sympathetic symptom, for O'Meara, in his report of the 26th, writes : " This day he complained of slight pain in the abdomen, but which I do not conceive to be of any consequence."[1] Surgeon Henry[2] was surprised that, although Cipriani's bedroom was quite near, Napoleon never visited him during his last illness, but the Emperor probably did not realize at first how serious the case was. Just before the end he proposed to visit the dying man, remarking that his presence might act as a stimulus, but O'Meara dissuaded him, saying that it was more likely to cause a fatal shock.

Gourgaud, who had already left Longwood, was surprised to find that both Lowe and Reade expressed appreciation of Cipriani, and mourned his loss. He adds in his journal :

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[1] B.M., 20121, p. 243 ; 20208, p. 188.

[2] " Events of a Military Life," vol. xi, p. 37.

"My opinion is that His Majesty will regret Cipriani more than he would any one of us."

Cipriani was buried in the churchyard of the country church,[1] close to Plantation House. There were present Sir Thomas Reade, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, O'Meara, and all the Longwood household who could attend. Cipriani was a Catholic; in default of a pastor of that religion the funeral ceremony was conducted by the two English clergymen, the Reverends Boys and Vernon, according to the rites of the Protestant Church. Napoleon was astonished when he heard of it. "A Catholic priest," he said, "would not have done as much for a Protestant."

Soon afterwards, on the 18th March, 1818, the Balcombe family left St. Helena. Balcombe had been discovered assisting in the transmission of clandestine correspondence, and after his departure further proofs of his having engaged in that traffic were forthcoming. It was ultimately found that he had accepted a bribe of £3000 from Napoleon.[2] Lowe appointed in his place, as purveyor to the Longwood establishment, Assistant Commissary Ibbetson. Later, we find Balcombe, on the 4th April, 1822, writing a very humble letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, from 28 Essex Street, Strand, in which he admits his "past indiscretion" and asks for "some provision from the Colonial Office."[3] He became Treasurer to the Government of New South Wales.

On the 8th June, Lepage, the chief cook, and Catherine (also known as Jeannette), the cook's assistant, left St. Helena, as man and wife. Before their departure they were interrogated separately, and both declared that there never had been any deficiency in the food supplies, and that the quality was excellent. With them went Bernard Heyman, his wife, and his son, domestics of the Bertrand household.[4] On the 26th of June, Mary Hall arrived as governess to the Bertrand children.

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[1] Reade to Lowe, B.M., 20207, p. 78.

[2] B.M., 20133, p. 380.

[3] *Ibid.*, 20133, p. 304.

[4] *Ibid.*, 20122, pp. 454, 460.

Sir Pulteney Malcolm, as we have seen, employed O'Meara to give Napoleon newspapers, without the knowledge and against the orders of Sir Hudson Lowe. Encouraged in this way by Malcolm, O'Meara then began to deliver newspapers on his own initiative, receiving them from Cole, the postmaster, for that purpose.[1]

On the 23rd May, 1817, Lowe learned from O'Meara of these presents of papers to Napoleon, and the Governor promptly ordered him to discontinue the offence. Four days later, on the 27th May, O'Meara received the letter from Finlaison of the 25th February, relating that Lord Melville had interfered to prevent Lord Bathurst from ordering the surgeon to be removed. O'Meara now felt that he was independent of the Governor. In defiance of Sir Hudson Lowe's orders, he sent, on the 29th June, a long letter to Mr. Finlaison; and he now ventured to use expressions of marked hostility to the Governor. Soon afterwards Lowe complained to O'Meara that he had not supported him in the affair of the bust, and O'Meara again tendered his resignation, on the 21st July, 1817. Lowe declined to accept a verbal resignation, but said that if it were put in writing, he would consider it. To this O'Meara made no response. Then, in September, 1817, came the bribe from Napoleon, accepted by O'Meara, to take his part against the Governor and exaggerate his ill-health. Matters were now ripe for an open rupture.

On the 25th of November a violent scene occurred. Lowe asked O'Meara whether in his late conversations with Napoleon "there was nothing of sufficient importance for him to be informed of." O'Meara declared that he was being asked to act the part of a *mouton*, or spy, whereupon Lowe ordered him out of the room. On the 18th December, O'Meara admitted to the Governor that on the 6th May, 1816, he had given Napoleon the pledge already referred to, not to reveal the conversations of Napoleon unless they referred to

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[1] B.M., 20121, p. 374.

DEPUTY-COMMISSARY-GENERAL DENZIL IBBETSON

From the picture in possession of his daughter, Miss Laura Ibbetson

projects for escape. Lowe administered a severe reprimand. He discovered now the treble part that O'Meara had been playing: betraying Napoleon to Lowe, Lowe to Napoleon, and both to Finlaison. That Lowe did expect O'Meara to act as spy is probable, and the surgeon had hitherto shown no disinclination for the part.

The complaints against O'Meara were that he took the part of Napoleon against Lowe, wrote secret letters for Lord Melville, in which were serious charges against the Governor, exaggerated Napoleon's ill-health, and infringed over and over again the regulations against secret communications, making himself a regular channel for underhand intercourse. O'Meara thought he was in so strong a position, as the only medical attendant whom Napoleon would receive, and supported by the highest naval authorities both in England and on the island, that he could with impunity commit all these offences, which would have brought instant removal to any other man, whatever his rank. In two despatches of the 20th and 25th January, 1818, Lowe recapitulated to Bathurst these complaints against O'Meara, and drew attention to "the almost nullity of all restrictions upon communication or correspondence with Napoleon Bonaparte, when a person of Mr. O'Meara's turn of mind and disposition is permitted to remain near him."

Then occurred the snuff-box incident. Napoleon desired to give the two clergymen, the Reverends Boys and Vernon, a token of his appreciation of their conduct in connection with the death and burial of Cipriani. On the 2nd April, 1818, O'Meara handed to Boys, on behalf of Napoleon, a silver snuff-box. That day was chosen for the gift because Boys was leaving the island for England on the 3rd, and it was hoped he would get away before the transaction could be discovered. But Vernon pointed out to Boys that severe penalties attached to the acceptance of a present from Napoleon, and Boys accordingly, on the morning of his departure, returned the snuff-box to O'Meara.

When Lowe heard what O'Meara had done he sent him, through Sir Thomas Reade, on the 10th April, 1818, an order not to quit Longwood unless something extraordinary should occur there, or he should be desired to do so by the naval Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Plampin. O'Meara sent in a written resignation to Sir Hudson Lowe, with a request to be allowed to return to England. In defiance of the Governor's command, he left Longwood and went to "The Briars" to seek an interview with Plampin, who declined to receive him, and told his secretary to inform O'Meara that he must first write and ask to be allowed to wait upon the Admiral. O'Meara said to the secretary that as a naval officer he did not consider himself amenable to the orders of the Governor—a reply which sufficiently reveals the necessity for his removal from the island, if not from the service.

Lowe formally accepted O'Meara's resignation, but allowed him to remain at Longwood until instructions as to his resignation had been received from England, or some arrangement had been made for furnishing a substitute. Napoleon declined to receive the ministrations of O'Meara under these conditions, and it was reported to Lowe, both by Bertrand and the surgeon, that Napoleon's health was suffering in consequence. Napoleon now gave O'Meara, in addition to the bribe of October, 1817, a letter asking Joseph or Eugène to pay him the sum of £4000.[1]

Bertrand, on the 27th April, forwarded to Lowe a note from Napoleon in which occurred the expression "Je légue l'opprobre de ma mort à la maison régnante d'Angleterre." And O'Meara on the 5th May wrote to the Governor: "As Napoleon Bonaparte has declined seeing me since the 14th April last, and I fear that some dangerous effects may follow, I beg leave to propose putting matters upon the footing they formerly were, until the arrival of an answer from England. . . . The actual state of matters now is appalling, and will probably produce very unpleasant sensations both in

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[1] Masson, "Autour de Sainte-Hélène," vol. iii, p. 191.

England and Europe. His Excellency may perhaps reflect upon the terrible responsibility which weighs upon him if (as is possible and very probable) Napoleon Bonaparte, deprived of assistance, was to die before the expiration of the five or six months required to obtain an answer from England." In consequence of these alarming reports, by which it seemed that the Emperor might die at any moment, Sir Hudson Lowe rescinded his order of the 10th April, and permitted O'Meara to continue his duties at Longwood upon the conditions originally established.

Sir Hudson Lowe informed Colonel Lascelles, who had succeeded Colonel Nicol in command of the 66th Regiment, of the offences committed by O'Meara, and intimated his opinion that the surgeon was not a fit person to be admitted as an honorary member of the regimental mess. Colonel Lascelles instructed O'Meara's friend, Lieutenant Reardon, to tell him what the Governor had said, and to suggest that he should discontinue his appearances at the mess.

O'Meara wrote in answer to the Colonel, asking to be allowed to present his case to the officers of the 66th, before any decision was taken. Lascelles replied, on the 23rd June, that he could not any longer allow him to be an honorary member of the 66th mess. But he told O'Meara that he would be one of the first to ask him to dine with him at the mess as a stranger, and that other officers would do the same.[1] Thus encouraged, O'Meara had the hardihood to appear at dinner at the mess on the same day, but as he could not continue to ignore the interdict of the Colonel, he wrote on the 25th a warm letter of thanks addressed "To the Officers of the 66th Regiment," for the many marks of friendship and kindness with which he had been honoured, and said, "By a fatality, which at this moment persecutes me, orders emanating from a superior power prohibit me from any longer enjoying, in your society, the great, the only consolation it was possible for me to experience in this dreary abode."

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[1] B.M., 20146, p. 116.

That evening at the mess Lieutenant Reardon proposed that a letter of appreciation and regard should be written to O'Meara. The following letter was sent:

"DEADWOOD, 26*th June*, 1818.

"DEAR SIR,

"As president last night, I had the honour of communicating to the mess the contents of your letter of the 25th instant, and am directed by the commanding officer and officers composing it, to say, it is with much regret they hear of your departure as an honorary member of the mess, and to assure you, they always conceived your conduct while with them to be perfectly consistent in every respect with that of a gentleman.

"I am also directed to say, the mess feel much indebted for the very flattering expressions of esteem contained in your letter, and have the honour, etc.

"CHS. MCCARTHY,
"Lieut. 66th Regiment."

As surgeon Henry of the 66th says, it was a mistake to give O'Meara a certificate of good character after the "effrontery," and "gross insult to our commanding officer, and indirectly to ourselves, of sitting down to dinner after the prohibitive note he had received."

Colonel Lascelles and Lieutenant Reardon were, some months later, in October, 1818, sent to England by Sir Hudson Lowe. Major Dodgin having succeeded to the command, a letter signed by twenty-seven officers of the 66th was, on November 6th, 1818, sent to Sir George Bingham, in which they said that none of them were ever consulted about the letter to O'Meara, that they had no knowledge of either O'Meara's letter, or of the answer to it, until some time afterwards.[1] On the same date seven officers who were present at the mess when O'Meara's letter was received and were acquainted with the answer that had been sent, said that at the time they knew nothing against O'Meara, and were influenced by the common rules of politeness, and expressed their " regret that an answer should have been sent."

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[1] B.M., 20124, p. 221.

To finally repudiate O'Meara, the officers, on learning of the statements he had made about the mess incident in his letter to the Admiralty of the 28th October, 1818, wrote to Sir George Bingham, in March, 1819: " It is with feelings of the greatest surprise and indignation we have seen the false and scandalous construction put by Mr. O'Meara on a letter intended merely as a mark of common civility; and we now beg you, sir, to assure His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe that the whole of the assertions and implications contained in the latter part of the extracts " (from O'Meara's letter to the Admiralty) " are wanton and malicious falsehoods." This is a sufficient repudiation of O'Meara.

Pending the arrival of instructions from England as to the surgeon's fate, Sir Hudson Lowe need not have interfered to have him driven out of the 66th mess. Lowe pursued wrong-doers, especially those who had defied his authority, with a zeal which sometimes gave the appearance of personal animosity.

O'Meara now received the following encouraging letter:[1]

" ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 24*th Jan.*, 1818.

" MY DEAR O'MEARA,

" Your last letters up to the 14th November have all come safe and I am specially commanded by my Lord Melville to express his Lordship's approbation of your correspondence, especially of the minute attention you have paid to details, and to add his wish that you continue to be equally full, candid, and explicit in future.

" Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who is now beside me, begs I should express to you his particular wish that in every future discussion or report, you will as much as possible avoid bringing up his name, as he is of opinion it can do no good. He sends his compliments and wishes you well through your arduous employment, which he thinks no one could ever be found to fill so well.

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[1] B.M., 20231, p. 21.

"Believe me, my dear O'Meara, yours always,

"JOHN FINLAISON."

Assured that he was the indispensable man, O'Meara set himself to prove to the Governor that Napoleon was in need of his services. Received once more by his patient he at once, on the 10th May, sent to Sir Hudson Lowe a very alarming report of the Emperor's condition. "The complaint," he said, "is evidently hepatitis in a chronic and insidious form."

O'Meara continued to report that Napoleon was very ill, and Lowe seems to have been convinced, for he wrote to Bathurst, on the 11th July: "Napoleon's illness seems to have taken a serious turn, and his surgeon not to be a little alarmed on his account."[1]

Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe refusing his sanction to the removal of O'Meara. Then Gourgaud arrived in England, and as a result of his statements, Bathurst wrote at once, on the 16th May, that one of Napoleon's companions asserted that the prisoner was in a normal condition of health and that they were being "imposed on" at St. Helena. Napoleon was not therefore in need of O'Meara's services, and Bathurst gave Lowe the order to send him to England. He took care to explain that this sudden change of policy was "in consequence of the information furnished by General Gourgaud in England respecting his" (O'Meara's) "conduct."

At the same date Rear-Admiral Plampin received a letter from the Secretary to the Admiralty, saying that Lord Bathurst had "acquainted my Lords Commissioners" that O'Meara should be removed. Lord Melville, in face of

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[1] B.M., 20123, pp. 60, 69.

Gourgaud's revelations, could not save O'Meara a second time. Their Lordships directed Rear-Admiral Plampin to order surgeon O'Meara to return to England.[1]

Before these orders had been received at St. Helena another source of disagreement had arisen. Captain Blakeney, of the 66th, had acted as orderly officer at Longwood for a year, and desired to be relieved. Lowe selected to replace him Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, Inspector of Militia on the island, with the local rank of Lieut.-Colonel. He gave Lyster as assistant, Lieut. Basil Jackson of the Staff Corps. He sent Bertrand a note informing him of these appointments and, receiving no objection, the two officers were sent up to Longwood four days later, on the 20th July, 1818.

There was at once a quarrel with O'Meara, whom Lyster would not admit to mess with him and Jackson. O'Meara, on his part, refused to answer when asked by Lyster about the health of Napoleon.

Bertrand wrote a letter to the Governor, objecting to Lyster in very offensive terms. It transpired afterwards that Napoleon had dictated the words used.[2] Lowe replied that the objection should have been made when the proposed appointment had been communicated, and was too late, now that the officer was actually in residence. He then committed the folly of showing Lyster the opprobrious expressions in Bertrand's letter. Lyster became incensed and sent a challenge to Bertrand, and on receiving no reply, wrote threatening to horsewhip the Grand Marshal. Lyster received a severe reprimand from the Governor, who removed him at once from Longwood. Captain Blakeney had to return for a further period of service.

Lowe reported to Bathurst that Lyster spoke French and Italian well, and that he was " a man of the best temper, the kindest and most inoffensive of dispositions."[3] That appears to have been the case. Balmain says that Lyster was an Irishman advanced in age and a very good fellow, but that Napoleon disliked him and had already refused to see him. In that case Lowe should not have attempted to force him upon Napoleon, and his revelation to Lyster of Bertrand's expressions was singularly tactless. The affair had serious consequences, for Bertrand declined Lyster's challenge, and was treated as a coward by the British officers, who no longer called upon Madame Bertrand, for whom St. Helena thus became more than ever intolerable.

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[1] B.M., 20218, p. 16.

[2] Verling's Journal, 7th September, 1819.

[3] B.M., 20123, p. 191.

On the 25th July, 1818, Lowe carried out Bathurst's command with regard to O'Meara, sending him, by Colonel Wynyard, a letter in which he said that, "by an instruction received from Earl Bathurst" he was to withdraw from his attendance upon General Bonaparte, without holding any further communication whatsoever with the persons residing at Longwood.

O'Meara instantly went to Napoleon to inform him of the order he had received, and remained with him for some time. Besides the bribe of October, 1817, and the order for £4000 given in April, Napoleon gave him a letter to his mother, which ultimately produced a pension of £320 a year. He gave him also two gold snuff-boxes and a bronze statuette,[1] and embraced him, saying, "Adieu, O'Meara, nous ne nous reverrons jamais. Soyez heureux."

When O'Meara emerged from Napoleon's room, he was accosted by Wynyard, who remarked he had disobeyed the order prohibiting communication with the Longwood society. To this O'Meara replied that he did not recognize Lowe's authority. St. Helena, where every other person, including the naval Commander-in-Chief and the foreign Commissioners, admitted the Governor's authority, was therefore no place for O'Meara, and Wynyard hurried him down to Jamestown at once, whence he was put on board the *Griffon*,

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[1] These articles are mentioned in O'Meara's will, a copy of which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Arnold Chaplin.

From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

WILLIAM BALCOMBE

for England. His baggage was not made to travel with equal speed, which drew from him the statement that he would make the authorities responsible to his creditors for its non-appearance. When the baggage had been duly delivered, he said that valuables to a very large amount had been stolen. A judicial enquiry, under Sir George Bingham, was instituted, and O'Meara was allowed to go on shore in order to give evidence, but nothing was discovered. He was in debt, and was quite capable of inventing the story as to his loss.

The *Griffon* sailed, with O'Meara on board, on the 2nd August, 1818.

On the 19th September the *Lusitania* storeship, Captain Brash, brought for Mr. Fowler, a partner in the firm of Balcombe, Cole and Fowler, a box of books, with letters for Mr. Fowler and for surgeon O'Meara. The books were French, and though the box had no name on it except that of Captain Brash, it was presumed they were intended for Longwood; they were sent up accordingly.

Fowler showed his letter to Lowe, and on its being opened it was found to contain an envelope addressed to "James Forbes, Esq." With the consent of Fowler this envelope was opened, and it was found to contain a letter, of no great interest, from "William Holmes" to O'Meara. The other letter, addressed to O'Meara, was then, with the approval of Admiral Plampin, opened, and found to contain an envelope addressed to surgeon Stokoe. On this being, with the permission of Stokoe, opened, a letter from Balcombe to Stokoe was discovered, with a third envelope containing a letter from Balcombe to O'Meara. Here was a bad case of clandestinitis, for there was no sense in the subterfuges employed. The outer envelope was addressed to O'Meara. If he had been on the island to receive it, he would have been put to the unnecessary trouble of sending the second envelope to Stokoe, in order to receive from him the third envelope containing the substantive communication. If, on the other hand, the first envelope was not delivered to O'Meara, but opened by the Governor, it was most improbable that he would pass on the second envelope to Mr. Stokoe without further enquiry, which would have revealed the letter from Balcombe.

Balcombe's letter to O'Meara was found to be dated from "Holmes' Office, 24th June, 1818." It is of considerable interest, as it shows what were O'Meara's expectations. "Holmes," it says, "is indefatigable in his exertions in your cause, and all my friends, among the rest Sir George and Sir P——, are of the same opinion with us." . . . "The election is going on rapidly; the Opposition members are all coming in, the Ministerial going out; a change in the Administration is expected."

This letter shows what were the hopes of O'Meara's friends. They expected that the Opposition would soon be returned to power, when the surgeon might expect to be rewarded for the part he was playing. The charge of inhumanity towards Napoleon was one of the political weapons used by the Opposition to overthrow the Government; it rested with O'Meara to make it good.

Inflamed with hatred of Sir Hudson Lowe, and confident of ultimate triumph, O'Meara would not put off his revelations till he reached England, but already, during the stay of the *Griffon* at Ascension, began the attack. To Midshipman Blackwood of the *Favourite*, at that time at Ascension; to Mr. Hall, surgeon of the same ship; to Mr. Malcolm, assistant surgeon at Ascension; and to Lieutenant Cuppage, R.N., in command there,—to each one separately he declared that Lowe had tried to induce him to "make away with" Napoleon, presumably by poison.[1]

On the 17th September, 1818, O'Meara reported his arrival in England to the Admiralty, and on the following day, Barrow, the secretary, wrote to him expressing their Lordships' approval of his recall from St. Helena.[2] O'Meara

[1] B.M., 20125, pp. 38–9.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20146, p. 133.

regarded this letter as a censure on his conduct, and prepared, in defence, a paper which he forwarded on the 28th October, giving a long and detailed account of his charges against Sir Hudson Lowe, repeating the worst accusation. He said that Lowe had at first endeavoured, in May, 1816, to have him replaced by Baxter, but that, "Failing in this attempt" (there is an insinuation against Baxter also here), "Sir Hudson Lowe adopted the resolution of manifesting great confidence in me, by loading me with civilities, inviting me constantly to dinner with him, conversing for hours together with me alone, both at his own home and grounds, and at Longwood, either in my own room, or under the trees, and elsewhere. On some of these occasions he made to me observations upon the benefit which would result to Europe from the death of Napoleon Bonaparte, of which event he spoke in a manner which, considering his situation and mine, was peculiarly distressing to me."

The answer he received from the Lords of the Admiralty was a dismissal from the Navy. Mr. Croker was instructed to write to him, on the 2nd November, 1818: "Their Lordships have lost no time in considering your statement, and they command me to inform you that (even without reference to the complaints made against you by Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe) they find in your own admissions ample ground for marking your proceedings with their severest displeasure." Then, after quoting the passage already given, the letter proceeds: "An overture so monstrous in itself, and so deeply involving not merely the personal character of the Governor, but the honour of the nation and the important interests committed to his charge, should not have been reserved in your breast for two years, to be produced at last, not (as it would appear) from a sense of public duty, but in furtherance of your personal hostility against the Governor.

"Either the charge is in the last degree false and calumnious, or you can have no possible excuse for having hitherto suppressed it.

"In either case, and without adverting to the general tenor of your conduct as stated in your letter, my Lords consider you to be an improper person to continue in His Majesty's service, and they have directed your name to be erased from the list of naval surgeons accordingly."

Lord Bathurst reported to Sir Hudson Lowe that "Sir George Cockburn was the first person who, on reading the charges, declared that Mr. O'Meara ought to be instantly dismissed the service."

So the Naval support upon which he had reckoned, failed him. There was a limit to the benevolence of Cockburn and Malcolm, and the Lords of the Admiralty; but we should think better of these leaders of the Navy if they had not allowed O'Meara to believe that his secret reports against his military superior, were being received with pleasure. They encouraged him to suppose that there was no accusation against Lowe, however outrageous, that they would not tolerate. O'Meara, a man of low character, was thus tempted to his ruin. Lowe wrote to Bathurst that O'Meara's "hopes of support from the superiors of his own service" had been "a primary cause of much of the trouble he has given." Later he wrote in pencil on the margin of his copy of this despatch, "sole cause it may now be said."[1] England suffers to this day from the credence which has attached to the British Navy surgeon's malicious assertions.

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[1] B.M., 20201, p. 69.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

FOR some time after their arrival the Commissioners avoided the Longwood society. It was not till the 7th April, 1817, at the race meeting, that Gourgaud made the acquaintance of Balmain. They met frequently thenceforth. On the 25th April Captain Poppleton reported that he saw Gourgaud, Balmain, and de Gors riding together on the road to the Alarm House.[1] On the 1st May Gourgaud was again riding with Balmain; he assured the Russian Commissioner that Napoleon was most anxious to see him. Balmain replied that Sturmer and Montchenu expected instructions from their Courts, to arrive by the *Conqueror*, and that nothing would be settled till then.

Sturmer met Gourgaud on the same day as Balmain, the 7th April, 1817. Then on the 5th May he was out riding early, and Poppleton "showed him the front of the house" (Longwood). "He seemed surprised at the appearance of the place, and said it was much better than he had an idea of."[2]

On the 29th June, 1817, the *Conqueror* brought the instructions long awaited by the Austrian and French Commissioners.

Prince Esterhazy wrote to Sturmer that he should not attempt to force himself on Napoleon as a Commissioner, but that he was free to visit him as a private person. He also told the Baron to behave with more politeness towards the Governor, advice which was endorsed by Metternich. Sturmer decided to make no effort to see Napoleon. The reason he gave was that, as he could not be introduced by the Governor, who was not received at Longwood, he would be obliged to have recourse to Bertrand, in his capacity of "Grand Marshal of the Palace of the Emperor," which would imply an acknowledgment on his part of the Imperial title.

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[1] B.M., 20208, p. 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20118, p. 350.

Montchenu received similar instructions. He also declined to take advantage of the permission to visit Napoleon in an unofficial capacity. He said he could not apply to Bertrand, for the Count was under sentence of death for high treason.

Balmain was in a different position. His Court encouraged him to cultivate good relations with the Longwood inmates, provided he could do so without offending the Governor. He reported to Nesselrode, on the 8th July, 1817: "Since the arrival of the *Conqueror* Bonaparte is impatient to see us. He knows that the affair of the *procès verbal* is concluded, that the Commissioners of Austria and France may go to Longwood as private persons. He detaches his French people one after the other to drag us to Longwood. Gourgaud seeks me out, follows me everywhere, and urges me with importunity to satisfy his master. Bertrand does the same to Madame de Sturmer. The other day, being seated at her side, he pretended, so as not to be heard, to be engaged in raising a handkerchief from the floor, and said to her in a whisper: 'Madame, in the name of Heaven, come and see the Emperor; I conjure you, he expects you; he is always speaking of you, he has need of society, he has only English visitors, and it is very melancholy.' So that one cannot any longer avoid them, nor escape their pressing solicitations."[1]

Balmain sent the Governor the following note: "General, nothing now preventing the Commissioners of the Allied Powers from seeing Napoleon in their private capacity, I venture to beg you to authorize me to make the customary application to Count Bertrand, following the example of all your fellow-countrymen, of Lord Amherst among others. If you had the goodness to conduct me yourself I should be doubly grateful."

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[1] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 621.

Lowe's answer was that as he could not himself see Napoleon, he could give no help. Balmain must arrange the matter with Bertrand. He remarked that Napoleon had treated him shamefully, and would abuse him to Balmain, who would have difficulty in avoiding the appearance of taking a side against the Governor. "I know men of merit," said Lowe (referring to Admiral Malcolm), "who without wishing it or knowing it had become Napoleon's instruments." It was since the arrival of the Commissioners, he insisted, that he had been embroiled with Napoleon, and they had the peculiar privilege that they could not be hanged for any conduct in favour of Napoleon, a penalty to which he himself, with all Englishmen, was exposed.[1] Balmain at once declared he would abandon the attempt to obtain an interview with Napoleon.

Lowe often remarked to the Commissioners, "I cannot hang you": referring to the decision of Lord Bathurst that they did not come under the Act of Parliament. Lowe had pressed the matter with persistence, and Bathurst had sent him something like a snub: "I regret," he wrote on the 14th December, 1816, "that you have been drawn into a discussion with the Commissioners regarding their Rights, because it may induce their Courts (particularly Russia) to exact what otherwise they would never have thought of." He proceeded to announce that he thought the Commissioners were not subject to the Act of Parliament. "This is the reason which makes me regret the more your having been induced to contest the point. I must also beg you will avoid if possible in future any question respecting their rights."[2]

Napoleon had hoped much from personal contact with the Commissioners, and, according to Balmain, when he heard that he could not see them, even in their private capacity, "his ill-humour was such that nobody dared go near him. He was ten days without leaving his room, dining alone, occupying himself with nothing and abusing his followers. Gourgaud in particular received rude buffets, and spoke of nothing but killing himself, destroying himself. 'The Emperor,' he said to me, 'is unrecognizable. When he was at the head of his armies we served him with pleasure. Now misfortune has embittered him. He is a different man.'"[1]

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[1] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 647.

[2] B.M., 20117, p. 189.

Balmain urged Gourgaud to obtain a reopening of Napoleon's door for Sir Hudson Lowe. "Make peace with him," he said, "he is a good man, he is not ill-natured. He wishes to be on good terms, to have you at his dinners and in his society. We should go to you from time to time, and we should all be less bored at St. Helena." "Ah! sir," replied Gourgaud, "he" (Napoleon) "took a wrong course at the beginning. The trouble is now beyond a remedy."

Montholon told Balmain that he and Bertrand were wrongly accused of fomenting the strife. That it was not to their interest that Napoleon should remain indoors and decline to receive visitors; they were dried up with the dullness of their lives. The fact was that the English visitors bored Napoleon. Their language and their ways were insupportable to him. He preferred to be alone.

Gourgaud, Montholon, and Bertrand made repeated efforts to induce Sturmer and Balmain to visit Napoleon as private persons. They could have done so. Lowe would not have prevented it; but neither of them attempted to controvert Lowe's arguments against such visits. If Napoleon had been willing to receive Lowe himself, and to allow the visits of Balmain and Sturmer to be conducted by means of passes from Lowe, the desired meetings would have taken place. These, however, were essential conditions, as the Russian and the Austrian both realized.

The Austrian and Russian Commissioners continued to

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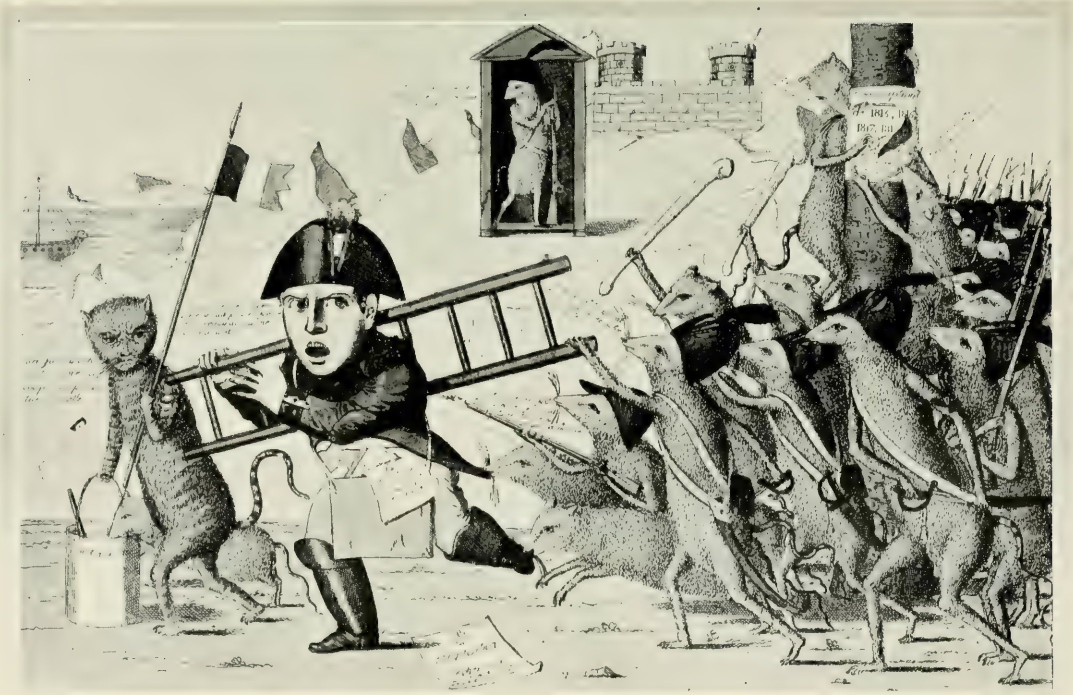
[1] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 647.


1814, 18
1817, 18

NAPOLEON AND THE RATS AT ST. HELENA

French caricature

meet the followers. On the 13th October, 1817, Sturmer and Balmain walked upon the race-course with Montholon for an hour. On the 17th November they passed into the grounds of Longwood as far as the inner gate, in the company of Bertrand and his wife, and Gourgaud. On the 8th December Balmain was accompanied by de Gors, the French Commissioner's secretary, for a walk with the Bertrands, inside Longwood grounds. They were there again on the 24th and the 29th December. Then on the 6th April, 1818, Montchenu himself went with Balmain for a walk inside the outer gates. They were joined by the Bertrands, and remained between the two gates for nearly an hour. On the 12th April there was a general meeting inside the gates. Sturmer and his wife, Balmain, and Montchenu were joined by Bertrand and his wife and Montholon. On the 22nd April Montholon, followed by the orderly officer, Captain Blakeney, paid visits to Balmain and Montchenu in Jamestown.[1]

Napoleon saw the Commissioners walking together within a few yards of his house, and sent out his followers to meet them. He kept inside his rooms, using the holes in the shutters to see what was going on. On the 3rd May, 1818, he made a definite advance towards the French Commissioner. The Russian at that time was taking the part of O'Meara against the Governor, and was prepared to fall in with the wishes of the French. He was induced to assist in a little plot. He proposed to Montchenu a ride along the valleys at the northern edge of the Longwood plateau. Montchenu agreed, and with de Gors accompanied Balmain in a ride into the Company's garden, and thence to Mulberry Gut. They were met by emissaries from Longwood, and a sumptuous cold repast, which had evidently been prepared beforehand, was sent out to them by the order of Napoleon, served on the silver plate, with bottles of champagne and constantia, and coffee served in the gold coffee-pot. A message was sent at the same time that Napoleon would be glad to receive the Commissioners. But—as Montchenu reported to his Government—Sir Hudson Lowe could not present them, not being himself admitted, and the French Commissioner could not approach Bertrand, condemned to death by a French Court on the charge of high treason. Montchenu also observed that, as he could not see Napoleon himself, it was only by friendly meetings with the followers that he could obtain some kind of guarantee of the prisoner's continued presence on the island.

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[1] Reports of Captain Blakeney. B.M., 20208, pp. 148, 154, 162, 205, 208, 214.

The Duc de Richelieu in reply, on the 27th August, 1818, ordered Montchenu to make approaches to the followers. This was a reversal of the original instructions, which enjoined upon the French Commissioner to take means to avoid the Longwood circle. The Duc now said it was only through the followers that the French Commissioner could learn anything about Napoleon. " The place where you reside is, for us, the most important spot in the world; all our glasses must be incessantly turned upon that rock; nothing that happens there can be indifferent to us, and you should be in a position to tell us what is meditated and what it is possible in the last extremity to undertake and execute. Consider well the immense responsibility which weighs, to a great extent, upon you, and do not neglect any means of being well informed. The King will approve whatever you may do to keep him informed of the projects and the hopes of the inhabitants of Longwood, and the surest way for you to be well informed is by preserving, as much as possible, relations with them. If you experience difficulties from the English authorities, do not fail to acquaint me in detail, that I may intervene with the British Government in order to have them removed."

Lowe reported to Bathurst, who replied that the Commissioners were at liberty to see Napoleon, but not his followers; that no despatch received by the French Commissioner from his Government could be considered; that the proper course was for the French Government to make representations to the British Government.[1]

Meetings between the Commissioners and the followers were thenceforth less frequent, but they did not cease altogether.

Sturmer's conduct throughout, his general hostility to Lowe, and in particular his attempt to deceive him with regard to the Welle affair, had been disapproved by his Court. He was removed, and appointed Austrian Consul-General in the United States. He left St. Helena on the 11th July, 1818. No successor was appointed, the presence of Commissioners being now admitted to be a mistake. Montchenu was entrusted with the nominal control of Austrian interests.

Balmain's support of O'Meara had estranged him from the Governor. He left St. Helena for a voyage to Rio de Janeiro on the 22nd August, 1818. He was suffering from what Neil Campbell described, at Elba, as the "near view" of the local affairs, with no possible distraction to other objects of interest. After staring at the same object too long the sight becomes stony. On a small island, cut off from the rest of the world, small troubles become distorted, and quarrels about trifles are sure to occur. Sir Hudson Lowe was attacked, as time went on, by the same distemper; no man in his position could have escaped it.

Balmain had the sense to see that a change would do him good, and when he came back from his holiday he admitted that matters now assumed a different aspect. Reade reported to Lowe that Balmain had said to him that "since his return from Rio de Janeiro he had quite altered his opinion in regard to the French people at Longwood. He now thought them 'a curious set' (this was his expression), but particularly Count Montholon, whom he described as a very intriguing character."[2]

He told Montholon he had changed his opinion about

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[1] B.M., 20127, p. 41.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20125, p. 277.

O'Meara, whom he had thought incapable of forgetting his duty, whereas it was he who had assisted the illicit correspondence. "And that liver disease," he said to Montholon, "which was declared to be chronic, hepatic, and dangerous? It is laughed at now. Those who have seen the invalid at his window or on his lawn declare that he looks well."

But Balmain had already committed himself, before the salutary change to Rio, by writing a letter to the Governor, in which he had let it be seen that he considered O'Meara had been sent away without adequate cause. He received in consequence a letter of disapproval from Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador in London. In October, 1819, the name of his successor was being discussed on the island, as Balmain himself reported to his Government.[1]

Soon after Balmain had gone to Rio, Napoleon walked out in his garden, on the 4th September, 1818, a thing he had not done for several months. As we shall see later, it was when Balmain had left the island, in May, 1820, that Napoleon resumed the long-dropped habit of taking riding exercise. The presence of the Commissioners of Austria and Russia encouraged Napoleon to seclude himself. He thought there was a faint chance that Austria might be induced to relent, and he had a considerable hope of being able to impress the Czar. He posed as an injured man before the Commissioners of Austria and Russia, so long as he had some expectation of producing the desired effect, but when they were absent from the island, or when his hopes were at a low stage, he took exercise, and tried to make the best of things. If he was seen out of doors, it was a sign that he had, for the time being, given up the struggle.

When Gourgaud left St. Helena he took with him letters of recommendation from Sir Hudson Lowe and the Marquis de Montchenu to the Marquis d'Osmond, the French Ambassador in London. He had with him £100, lent to him just before his departure by Lowe; and a draft by Napoleon for

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[1] "Revue Bleu," 1897, pp. 684, 716, 748.

£500 reached him, through Lowe, soon after his arrival in England. He hoped to be allowed to return to France, with the rank of a General. The Marquis d'Osmond wrote to the Duc de Richelieu in his favour, but time went on without bringing the desired reinstatement, and there was nothing to hope for from Eugène or other Bonapartists, so long as Gourgaud was making statements injurious to their cause. Gourgaud's disloyalty had obtained for him what he wanted, a prompt return from St. Helena, without the preliminary detention at the Cape, which had been the lot of Las Cases. It seemed now that he could get nothing more either in England or in France, and when his £500 was spent he would have no resources. While he was hesitating there appeared, on the 17th August, 1818, certain articles in the "Morning Chronicle," written against Sir Hudson Lowe by O'Meara, who was then expecting to be removed from St. Helena. With this example before him, and feeling that his revelations had made him distrusted by both sides, Gourgaud decided to return to the Bonapartists.

A European Congress was to meet in the autumn at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a decision would then be taken with regard to the fate of Napoleon. The ex-Emperor's friends in England, and on the Continent, were using every effort to plead his cause before the Congress. Gourgaud was at last induced to join them. On the 25th August, 1818, he wrote to Marie Louise a letter in which he said that "the Emperor Napoleon is dying in the most frightful torments and the most prolonged agony"; and he urged her "to go to the Congress and beg there for the termination of the sufferings of the Emperor," and to supplicate her august father to join his efforts to hers that "Napoleon should be confided to him, if policy should not yet allow him to be set at liberty." This letter was soon afterwards published in the newspapers.

Then, in the middle of September, O'Meara arrived in England, carrying, in all probability, messages from Napoleon to Gourgaud, with promises of financial assistance. Under this influence Gourgaud wrote a letter to the Czar Alexander, in which he made a direct attack upon Sir Hudson Lowe. "Napoleon has been placed under the guard of a man whose sole occupation it is to invent every day some new restriction or humiliation. In short, Sire, it is by pin-pricks that they are killing, while they keep him in irons, the man to conquer whom the whole of Europe in coalition had not too many armies. . . . The health of Napoleon declines and his strength is becoming exhausted; he is marching with great strides to the grave." Later, in October, Gourgaud wrote out the draft of a letter in the same sense to the Emperor Francis, and prepared another to Eugène.

Gourgaud was now known to have returned to the Bonapartists, and, on the application of the French Ambassador, he was deported from England, on the 14th November, 1818. He landed at Cuxhaven, and proceeded thence to Hamburg, where he arrived on the 25th November. He lived at Hamburg—joined, in all probability, by his mother—in receipt of Napoleon's pension of £480 a year, paid through Eugène.[1]

Count de Las Cases was detained at the Cape of Good Hope for eight months. He was not allowed to depart before the 20th August, 1817, and when he arrived in England, on the 16th November, was at once deported. He went to Ostend, was moved on from there as a malefactor, was ejected from Prussian territory which he had entered, and finally found a resting-place at Frankfort, on the 11th December, 1817. There he remained, and from that place was able to act as an agent for the distribution of Bonapartist correspondence. He was himself the chief contributor, keeping up a correspondence with Bertrand and with the Bonaparte family at Rome.

He wrote appeals on behalf of Napoleon to Metternich, to the Czar, an interminable letter to Bathurst, and an even more lengthy Petition to the Parliament of England. When the time approached for the meeting of the Congress he wrote again to Marie Louise, urging her to make an appeal on behalf of her husband; he addressed a Note to the Allied Sovereigns, and separate letters to the Emperor Francis and Lord Castlereagh. The burden of his appeal was that "Napoleon on his rock is a prey to torments and vexations of every kind; he is the victim of the ill-treatment of men, and the insalubrity of the climate."

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[1] Masson, "Autour de Sainte-Hélène," vol. i, p, 23.

Napoleon's mother, Letizia, aged 68, wrote the following letter to the Sovereigns:—

"SIRES,—A mother, afflicted beyond all expression, has long cherished the hope that the meeting of your Imperial and Royal Majesties will afford some alleviation of her distress.

"The prolonged captivity of the Emperor Napoleon gives occasion for appealing to you. It is impossible but that your magnanimity, your power, and the recollection of past events, should induce your Imperial and Royal Majesties to interest yourselves for the deliverance of a Prince, who has had so great a share in your regard and even in your friendship.

"Would you suffer to perish, in miserable exile, a Sovereign who, relying on the magnanimity of his enemy, threw himself into his power? My son might have demanded an asylum from the Emperor, his father-in-law; he might have consigned himself to the generosity of the Emperor Alexander, of whom he was once the friend; he might have taken refuge with his Prussian Majesty, who in that case would, no doubt, have recollected his old alliance. Should England punish him for the confidence which he reposed in her?

"The Emperor Napoleon is no longer to be feared. He is infirm. And even if he were in the full enjoyment of health, and had the means which Providence once placed in his hands, he abhors civil war.

"Sires, I am a mother, and my son's life is dearer to me than my own. Pardon my grief, which prompts me to take the liberty of addressing this letter to your Imperial and Royal Majesties.

"Do not render unavailing the entreaties of a mother who thus appeals against the cruelties that have so long been exercised towards her son.

"In the name of Him, who is the essence of goodness, and of whom your Imperial and Royal Majesties are the image, I entreat that you will interest yourselves in putting a period to my son's misery, and restore him to liberty. For this I implore God, and I implore you who are His lieutenants on earth.

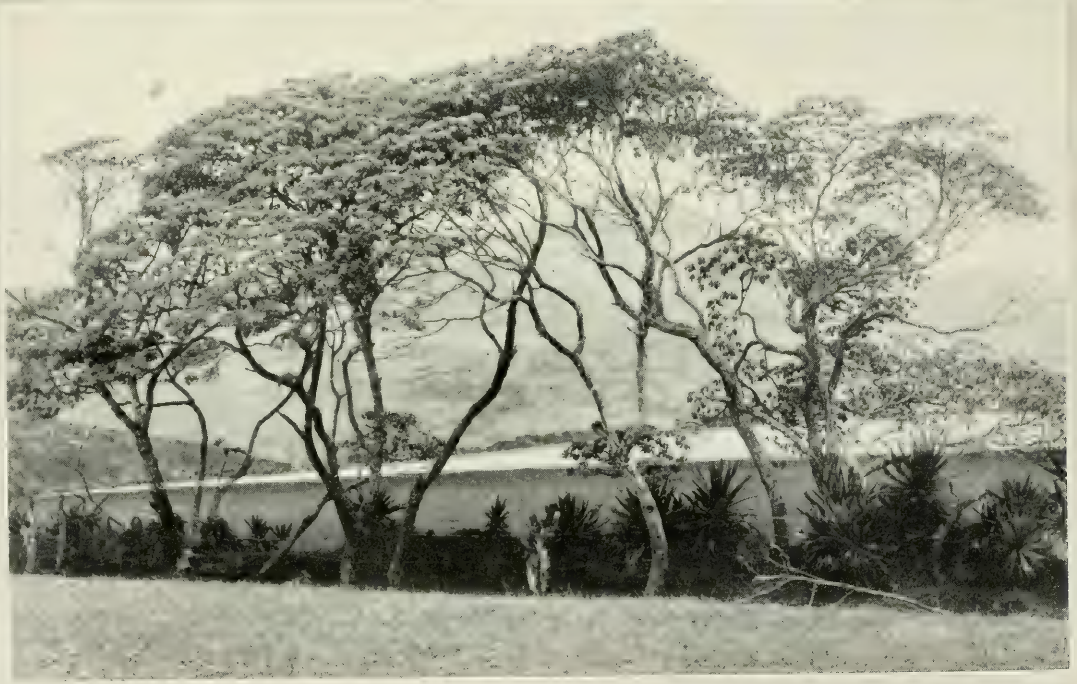
"Reasons of State have their limits; and posterity, which gives immortality, loves above all things the generosity of conquerors.

"I am, etc.,

"MADAME MÈRE."

This pathetic appeal was reinforced by a letter to Las Cases from Bertrand, copies of which were forwarded by Las Cases to Lord Liverpool and to the Sovereigns at the Congress. Jerome, Lucien, Pauline, even Madame Mère, had all talked of going to St. Helena to join Napoleon. Bertrand was instructed to write: "The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, and the hatred to which he is exposed would be altogether unbearable for him, if his mother or any of his brothers were to share it." Sir Hudson Lowe was depicted as taking pleasure in tormenting his victim. Bertrand enclosed a note written by Napoleon, which ended with the words, "I bequeath the opprobrium of my death to the reigning house of England."

These efforts had no prospect of success. The revelations of Gourgaud more than counterbalanced all the assertions on the other side. The Czar Alexander took the lead in pronouncing against the man who, after having entered Moscow in triumph, and been treated in subsequent defeat to a venturesome magnanimity, had taken the first opportunity to renew his attack on the peace of Europe. A Resolution proposed by Russia said that "the liberality and the



LONGWOOD GUM TREES, WITH FLAGSTAFF HILL IN THE BACKGROUND

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

mild character of the laws of England should suffice to expose at their true value these cries of calumny or of a false compassion. . . . There exists no doubt that, since the arrival of Bonaparte at St. Helena, every attempt has been made to render his captivity less painful. That object would indeed have been attained if, having decided to consider himself a private person relegated to that island, he had had the courage and the desire, to renounce his pretensions to grandeur and to exactions which are incompatible with his situation, and the actual state of his fortune." Then after mentioning " the complaints as false as they are puerile " about the provisions, the house, etc., the Russian memorandum continues : " Far be it from us to wish to aggravate his fate by any privation of this nature, but the truth is that these privations have never existed and that they are reported for private curiosity and malignity only, as one method the more for arousing the interest and reawakening the memories of his partisans." It is observed that General Gourgaud " has revealed particulars which cannot fail to receive the attention of the Allies." Then follows a recital of some of Gourgaud's statements. The conclusion is :

" 1. That Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself by his conduct outside the pale of the law of nations, and that the measures of precaution taken with regard to him, and all such of that nature as may be authorized, depend entirely upon the discretion and the prudence of the Allied Powers.

" 2. That the treaty of the 2nd August makes him expressly and formally the prisoner of the Powers signatory of the treaty of the 25th March, 1815.

" 3. That as a result no one among them can be permitted, and still less that Power who is the depository, to depart from the engagement made or to expose it, by any considerations whatever, to be frustrated, to the detriment of the public peace.

" 4. That the precautions mentioned in the original declarations and repeated in the letter of Lord Bathurst to

Sir Hudson Lowe, dated the 1st December, 1818, receive the assent of all the Powers concerned in the execution of the Treaty." . . .

The last clause said:

" 8. That all correspondence with the prisoner of St. Helena, remission of money or communication of any kind, which is not submitted to the inspection of the English Government, will be regarded as an attack upon public security, and charges will be made and measures taken against any such culpable person."

By a Protocol of the 31st November, 1818, the Powers adopted these resolutions unanimously. Their object was to reaffirm the anti-Napoleonic Alliance, to dissuade Bonapartists from supposing that Napoleon could ever again, under any circumstances, be permitted to return to power in Europe; and to emphasize publicly that the Allies approved the English treatment of the prisoner.

The news of the Protocol was received at St. Helena as the final and irrevocable decision of Europe, as to the fate of Napoleon. Sir Hudson Lowe felt reassured; he had obtained the highest European, official, approval of his conduct. Napoleon practically gave up all hope. Balmain reported: " Since the closure of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle the affairs of Longwood have taken a regular march, and go, like those of Europe, peaceably. Bonaparte is less agitated. From time to time, when he is morose and ill-humoured, he shuts himself up within his four walls, and refuses to show himself to the orderly officer; but his caprices of temper no longer cause anxiety and they do not last. There appears to be no plan, no design, in his present conduct. His disputes with Sir Hudson Lowe have entirely ceased."

The disturbers had gone. Las Cases went in December, 1816, Sir Pulteney Malcolm in July, 1817, Balcombe in March, 1818, Sturmer in July, 1818, O'Meara on the 2nd August, 1818. Now the Congress had extinguished all hopes. A time of peace ensued.

CHAPTER XXII

THE COURT-MARTIAL ON SURGEON STOKOE

WHEN it was known, on the 10th April, 1818, that O'Meara's resignation had been provisionally accepted, Napoleon made an application for a French doctor to be sent out to replace him; he also desired a priest, and a cook to take the place of Lepage. Lowe forwarded these requests to England.

Lord Bathurst in the meantime had written to the Governor on May 16th, 1818: "On the removal of Mr. O'Meara you will direct Dr. Baxter to give his medical attendance to General Bonaparte whenever it may be required, and will particularly instruct him on all occasions to consider the health of General Bonaparte; you will not fail to acquaint him at the same time that, should he have reason to be dissatisfied with Dr. Baxter's medical attendance, or should he prefer that of any other professional man on the island, you are perfectly prepared to acquiesce in his wish on the subject, and to permit the attendance of any medical practitioner selected by him, provided that he conforms strictly to the regulations in force. I have only to add that you cannot better fulfil the wishes of His Majesty's Government than by giving effect to any measure which you may consider calculated to prevent any just ground of dissatisfaction on the part of General Bonaparte, on account of any real or supposed inadequacy of medical attendance."

Lowe was to be accommodating as to Napoleon's choice, but the words "medical attendance whenever it may be required" do not imply residence at Longwood. Lowe, however, knowing that Baxter was unacceptable, sent up to replace O'Meara as resident medical attendant at Longwood, assistant surgeon Verling, of the Royal Artillery, who had come out on the *Northumberland* with Napoleon. Verling at once applied to O'Meara to be allowed to see his medical journal, from which he would learn of the course of Napoleon's health, but O'Meara declined to let him see it. The journal would have been of no practical service to Verling, for Napoleon never admitted him into his presence. Verling remained in residence in O'Meara's rooms at Longwood from the 25th July, 1818, until the arrival of Dr. Antommarchi on the 20th September, 1819, a period of fourteen months. He attended various members of the household, but Napoleon would not place himself in the hands of any man sent by the Governor, and never consulted Dr. Verling.

One result was that there was no longer any contact between any British official and the Emperor, and it became difficult to obtain the necessary evidence that the prisoner was still at Longwood. Captain Nicholls, of the 66th, who had taken Blakeney's place as orderly, was instructed to ascertain twice a day the presence of Napoleon, and he frequently reported that he had not been able to see him. On the 23rd October and subsequent days, the Governor had several interviews with Montholon on the subject, but he obtained little satisfaction on the point, and Nicholls continued to complain that often a day passed without his being able to obtain a sight of Napoleon.

On other matters Montholon showed a conciliatory disposition. Indeed his remarks to Lowe rival the "revelations" of Gourgaud. He said, for instance, that Napoleon would not leave St. Helena secretly even if a vessel were at hand to take him away; he declined to make any attempt to escape at Rochefort because he thought it would have been undignified, and he maintained the same attitude at St. Helena. But the Governor could not relax any of his precautions on the supposition that Napoleon would not stoop to any underhand method of departure.

Montholon also said: "I am very far from approving the life he leads—his refusal to take exercise—to ride on horseback—to see anyone, even the doctor—his persisting all the more when recommended to change his habits. Not to call in a doctor when one is ill is to punish oneself—it is ridiculous. All these things are childish, pure follies. He is seldom up more than two or three hours a day; he is so used to this that it has now become a necessity for him to remain long in bed. He becomes weak in body—his blood thickens—he declines every day. The habit of remaining in bed becomes an absolute necessity. Then he is in a bad humour, sulky; his temper is soured and irritable. Let the fine weather come, and I do not say that he will not then walk out in his garden as formerly. Would you wish him to go out in the rain to show himself? . . . The want of due forms affects the Emperor more than the thing itself; observe due form and you may do with him whatever you please." By "due forms" was meant the subservience expected by an Emperor. The ordinary politeness between equals was regarded as want of respect by the man who expected, at St. Helena, the obeisance to which he had been accustomed at Paris.

Montholon also said to Lowe: "I confess I do not think there is at this moment any person in the world who is placed in a position more delicate than you are. . . . You will ever find me ready to do you justice; the Emperor also does you justice whenever you offer him the opportunity. He has seen with pleasure your care and attention towards him in erecting that wall of earth round the new building, that he might not be incommoded by the sight of the men at work; and he directed me the other day (what I forgot to tell you before) to testify to you, on his part, that he was sensible of this."

The new house was at last taken in hand. The materials had been lying at Jamestown since their arrival two years before. The commencement of this work was long overdue. Napoleon's opposition was no excuse for the delay. Lowe was by nature dilatory and undecided. He would talk of repairs to Longwood, but was always slow in embarking upon them. In the end the work was done, but the long hesitation had been ungracious. The new house should have been commenced soon after the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe; it could have been completed by the end of 1818, giving Napoleon the opportunity of spending the last two and a half years of his life in comfortable quarters, suited to his position.

On the 15th August, 1818, Wynyard was sent to Longwood with the plans for the new house; they were considered satisfactory, and work was begun on a site adjoining Bertrand's house, about 150 yards from Longwood House. By the 2nd October the foundations had been laid, and by the 28th the masons had finished the left wing.[1]

It was in November of this year that Theodore Hook paid his visit to Longwood. He had no conversation with Napoleon. Hook was treasurer at Mauritius, and was on his way to England to answer a charge of peculation of the public funds. He had a character for humour, and when asked whether the journey was for his health he replied that it was said there was something wrong in the chest. Hoping to propitiate the Government before his case was decided, he collected materials at St. Helena for a defence of Sir Hudson Lowe and the British regulations, which was issued, without the name of the author, early in 1819, under the title, "Facts illustrative of the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in Saint Helena." The manner of the pamphlet is personal and vulgar, and it did the Government no good. On arrival in England Hook was dismissed the service.

The departure of O'Meara and refusal of Napoleon to see Verling brought a sudden cessation of the reports as to the Emperor's ill-health, which had previously been so frequent.

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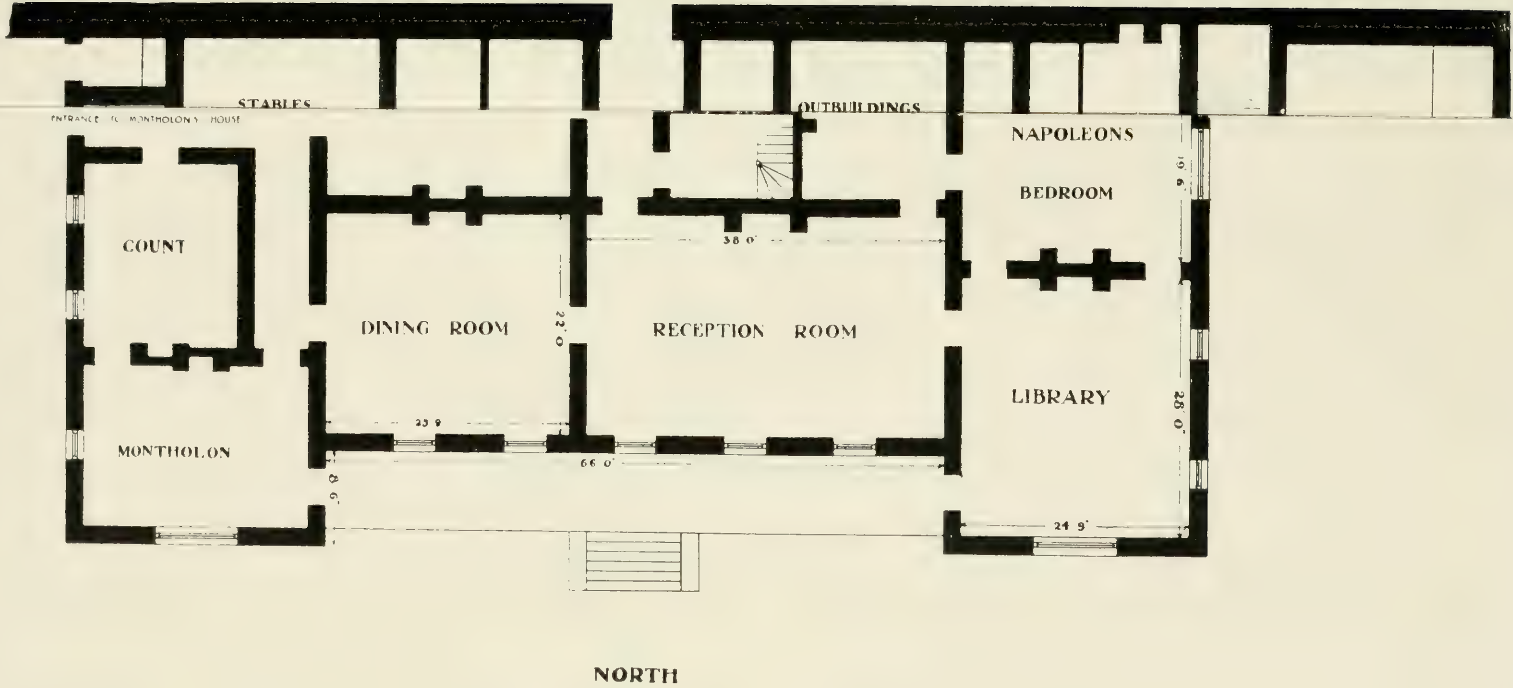
[1] B.M., 20210, p. 3; 20124, p. 194.


STABLES
ENTRANCE TO MONTHOLON'S HOUSE
OUTBUILDINGS
NAPOLEONS
BEDROOM
COUNT
MONTHOLON
DINING ROOM
RECEPTION ROOM
LIBRARY
38' 0"
22' 0
23' 9
66' 0"
8' 6"
19' 6"
28' 0"
24' 9"
NORTH

Nothing was known or heard of any illness. When the orderly succeeded in catching a glimpse of the prisoner he reported that "his countenance appeared exceedingly cadaverous and ghastly"; but he was cheerful, for he "came out of his house whistling, and seemed in good spirits." Nicholls had only just gone to Longwood as orderly, and being told to report on Napoleon's appearance, was struck by his complexion, which had always been, even when in the best of health, of a remarkable pallor. There was no reason to suppose that he was ill. In December, 1818, the news arrived that Cardinal Fesch had been informed that the British Government would send to St. Helena the doctor, priest, and cook demanded by Napoleon, and it was supposed that not many months would elapse before their arrival. There was a general belief that if Napoleon became ill in the meantime he would send for surgeon Stokoe of the *Conqueror.*

On the 12th October, 1794, John Stokoe, aged 19, entered the Navy as surgeon's mate of the *Union.* He saw much active service. He was at the bombardment of Copenhagen, was present at Trafalgar on the *Thunderer*, and was afterwards for some years in the Mediterranean, where he picked up a knowledge of Italian. In December, 1816, he had been in the Navy for twenty-two years, of which sixteen and a half had been on a ship on active service. He might have remained on shore for the few years still required for earning a pension, but he eagerly accepted the post of surgeon to the flagship which was to take Admiral Plampin to St. Helena. He says in his memoirs[1] that his hope was that he "should see the great man, and probably have the honour of conversing with him."

Arrived at St. Helena with Admiral Plampin in June, 1817, Stokoe at once made friends with O'Meara, to whom he expressed his keen desire to see Napoleon. The opportunity came on the 10th October, 1817, when Stokoe and O'Meara were walking in the garden at Longwood, and contrived to attract the attention of Napoleon, who allowed O'Meara to present his friend. Stokoe stood bare-headed during the interview, though he noticed that O'Meara remained covered. The conversation was in Italian. After the usual questions as to his services, Stokoe was asked whether he was married, to which he replied, *non ancora*, not yet, at which Napoleon smiled. The gossips at St. Helena asserted that Stokoe had been courting the elder Miss Balcombe, but that her father considered the surgeon too old at forty-two, for a girl still in her teens. Napoleon asked Balcombe, a few days later, why he did not allow his daughter to marry Stokoe, to which the sufficient answer was given that the surgeon had not asked for her.

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[1] Extracts from the memoirs, translated into French, have been published by M. Paul Frémeaux, in "Napoléon Prisonnier."

Stokoe had achieved the object for which he had volunteered. He had spoken to the greatest man of the day, and had felt the fascination for which he had come prepared. Admiration for Napoleon meant then, as too often it does now, detestation of his guardians, and indignation at his captivity. Stokoe went away "deeply lamenting" Napoleon's appeal to British generosity, and regretting the "ignoble conduct" of the Prince Regent, in not setting him "at liberty to return to the armies faithful to him." Stokoe was a man of generous impulses, but not of great intellect.

He reported to his Admiral the conversation that had passed, and received a reprimand for having spoken to Napoleon without special permission. He was reminded of the regulation, dated the 4th July, 1817, which had been issued to each Commander of a ship, with instructions to make it known to all persons on board, which said: "No officer of whatsoever rank belonging to His Majesty's Naval Service, is to visit Longwood, or the premises belonging thereto, nor to hold communication of any sort, by writing or otherwise, upon any subject whatsoever, with any of the foreign personages detained on this island without communicating particularly and directly his intentions and wishes thereupon to the Commander-in-Chief, and obtaining his permission for the same. Should any letter, or other communication from any of the foreign personages above alluded to, be received by a naval officer of whatsoever rank, he is to make the same known to the Commander-in-Chief with the least possible delay, previous to his answering or taking further notice thereof."[1]

This order is in very explicit terms, but Stokoe had travelled to St. Helena for the purpose of being introduced to Napoleon, and O'Meara doubtless assured him that his powerful friends in England enabled him to defy not only the Lieutenant-General on the spot, but also the Rear-Admiral. Plampin objected to the order being ignored. He sent the Captain of the *Conqueror* the following letter :—

" Briars,
" *October* 12*th*, 1817.[2]

" Sir,

" The surgeon of His Majesty's ship *Conqueror* having procured an introduction to General Bonaparte without first asking any permission, in disobedience of a well-known regulation, it is my desire that you will make known to the officers of every description of His Majesty's ships under your command, that an officer having my permission to visit Mr. O'Meara or any other person of the staff about General Bonaparte, is not to consider himself entitled to be introduced to him, unless he has previously obtained my express permission for that purpose.

" I am, Sir,
" Your most obedient Servant,
" Robert Plampin.

" *To* Captain Davie, *Conqueror*."

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[1] Record Office, Admiralty, 1/5461. This order was originally issued by Sir George Cockburn, on the 17th February, 1816. B.M., 20115, p. 23.

[2] Admiralty, 1/5461.

Having reprimanded Stokoe, the Admiral sent him to Sir Hudson Lowe to report what had occurred. Stokoe says that he quitted the Governor "with mingled feelings of contempt and disgust, as well as sorrow that such a man had been chosen for so important a command"; he was "unworthy the name of an Englishman."

An English naval surgeon with these opinions would have been accepted at Longwood as a satisfactory substitute for O'Meara, and accordingly, shortly before O'Meara's departure, on the 10th July, 1818, Napoleon asked Stokoe to be called in, for a medical consultation with O'Meara. Stokoe was at once ordered up to Longwood, but he told O'Meara that he declined the responsibility without the co-operation of a third surgeon, "not wishing to run the risk of getting himself into any scrapes."[1] O'Meara was in disgrace, and Stokoe wisely declined to be too closely identified with him.

When O'Meara was sent away, Stokoe ventured to declare openly that he considered he had been hardly used.[2] Hostile criticism of the authorities, in a matter of public importance, is a serious offence. The clandestine Holmes correspondence then came to light. Stokoe had not had the opportunity to take an active part, but it was evident that Holmes, Balcombe, and O'Meara expected that he would be willing to engage in underhand proceedings.

It was now known at Longwood, at Plantation House, in the messes on shore and at sea, that Stokoe was an outspoken hostile critic of the authorities, of Lord Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe, and Admiral Plampin; that he was a zealous supporter of the O'Meara policy; and that he was prepared to give every encouragement to the complaints of the French. Napoleon wished to have him installed as his own personal medical attendant at Longwood. Lowe and Plampin objected to his being placed in a position in

[1] O'Meara to Gorrequer, 10th July, 1818; B.M., 20123, pp. 29, 30.

[2] B.M., 20124, p. 87.

which he could further indulge in his repudiation of their regulations. So matters stood for some months after the departure of O'Meara, Napoleon scheming to get Stokoe to Longwood, Stokoe daily expecting his summons, and Lowe and Plampin watching them both.

On the 17th January, 1819, the first shot was fired. At 3 a.m. of that day, the orderly officer at Longwood, Captain Nicholls, was awakened to receive a note from Bertrand addressed to Stokoe, which was in the following terms :—

"Longwood, this 17th January, 1819, at one o'clock in the morning.

"Sir,

"The Emperor is in a very violent crisis. You are the only health officer now in this country in whom he has shown confidence. I beg you not to lose a moment to repair to Longwood and to ask for me on your arrival. I hope you will arrive during the night. I am much troubled."[1]

This appeal was marked "one in the morning," though it was not given to Nicholls till 3 a.m. The *Conqueror* lay at anchor off Jamestown. By selecting the surgeon who was furthest off, and adding a fictitious two hours to the time he would occupy in getting to Longwood, it was intended to show the necessity of allowing him to remain permanently there. These manœuvres made the pretext of urgency untenable. If Napoleon had been in a critical state, the cry for help would not have been kept back two hours, and a nearer doctor would have been called. Nicholls wrote in his journal: "Note. Dr. Verling, a respectable physician, at Longwood, and *not* called to see Napoleon; he could not be very ill, in my humble opinion."

Nicholls sent off two dragoons, one to Lowe with the Bertrand letter, the other to Plampin with a note of his own, acquainting the Admiral with the situation of affairs. The first dragoon, galloping up and down the valleys, was soon at Plantation House, where Gorrequer and Lowe were awakened. Lowe wrote a note to Plampin at 3.45 a.m., forwarding the letter; no time had been lost, for it takes nearly two hours to drive from Longwood to Plantation. The dragoon hastened on immediately to "The Briars," and found that his colleague had already roused Plampin and his secretary, and had hurried on with a note from the secretary for the captain of the *Conqueror:* "The Admiral has desired me to say that you are to order Mr. Stokoe (surgeon of the *Conqueror*) to go directly to Longwood and call on Dr. Verling, as Bonaparte is very ill. Briars, 17th January, 1819, 20 minutes past four o'clock in the morning. To be delivered immediately. John Elliott." Arrived in Jamestown the dragoon who took this letter had to deliver it to the officer on duty, who sent a boat with it to the *Conqueror*. Stokoe was roused, and hurried to the shore, where a horse was ready for him. Such despatch was exercised by all concerned that he was able to reach Longwood at 6.45 a.m., less than four hours from the moment the alarm had been given.[1] Those who know the hilly nature of the country will agree that this was quick work.

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[1] B.M., 20125, p. 85.

Arrived, breathless, at Longwood, Stokoe was informed that, at about midnight, Napoleon had been attacked by vertigo, and had been unconscious for a quarter of an hour; on recovering he had taken a hot bath, and he was then asleep.

There had been no occasion for all this strenuous exertion. Stokoe was not admitted to see the invalid. He breakfasted with the Bertrands, and in the course of the morning Montholon came to him with a proposal that he should accept the post of surgeon in the place of O'Meara, on certain conditions, written on a paper which was handed to him. They were as follows:—

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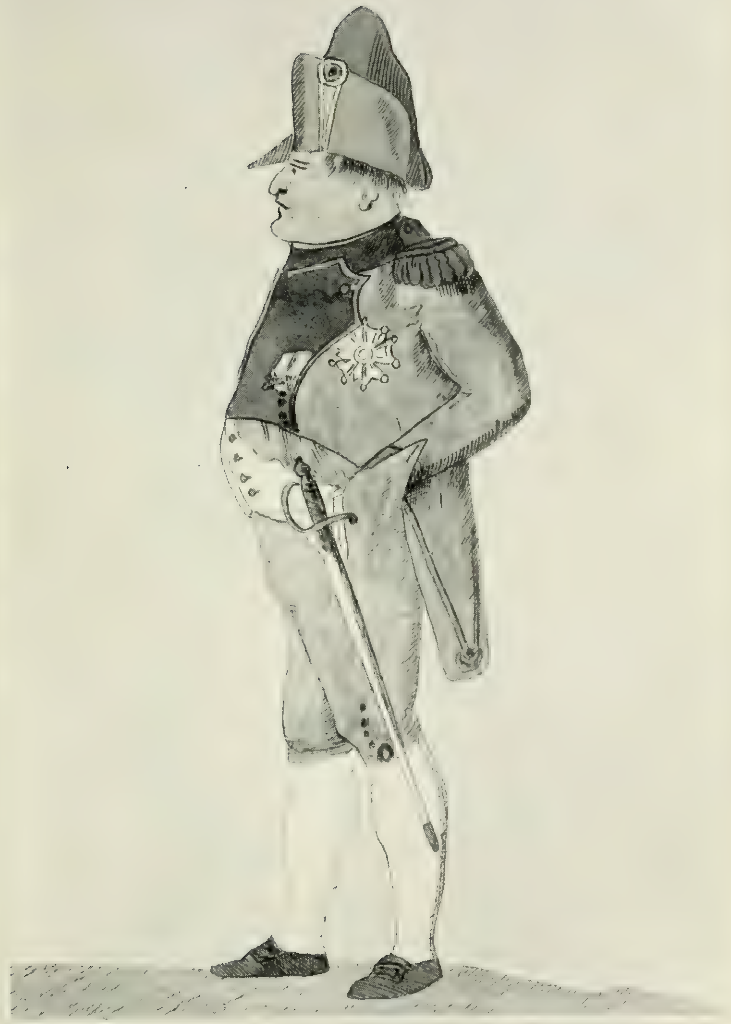
[1] B.M., 20125, pp. 83, 86-88, 93, 98; Record Office, Admiralty, 1/5461.



NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

From a water-colour by Captain, afterwards Sir David, Erskine

"1. Mr. Stokoe is considered as surgeon to Napoleon, and as filling the place of the French surgeon mentioned in the Decree of the British Government dated the 15th August, 1815.

"2. He is not to be taken away without the consent of Napoleon, at least by a simple order of the Governor, and especially as long as the illness continues.

"3. During the time that he fulfils the functions of medical adviser, physician to Napoleon, he is not to be subjected to any military discipline or duty, but is to be considered as an Englishman holding a civil appointment.

"4. He will not be required to render an account to any person whatever of the health of Napoleon. He will draw up every week, and oftener if necessary, a bulletin of the health of Napoleon, of which he will make two copies, one to be given to one of the Longwood officers, and the other to the Governor when he may desire it.

"5. No person whatever is to meddle with his medical functions; no restriction is to be placed upon his communications with Napoleon and the French, whether in writing or verbally, by day or by night.

"6. He is not to be bound to give any account of what he may see or hear at Longwood, except when he considers that he is compelled to do so by his oath of allegiance to his country or his sovereign.

"7. Doctor Stokoe engages to serve Napoleon in his profession, free from all prejudice or spirit of party, and as if he was his own countryman, and to make out no bulletin and no account of his ill-health without giving him the original.

"8. Mr. Stokoe, in accepting these conditions, preserves the integrity of all his rights as an English citizen and officer; he demands from the Admiralty the same pay as his predecessor, and does not desire to be assimilated in any way to the French prisoners. All the above is to depend upon the permission of his chief, Rear-Admiral Plampin. Longwood, this 17th January, 1819."

This paper shows signs of careful preparation. At St. Helena, where time was of no importance, Napoleon was a slow producer, spending much labour in correcting and revising. There was not much time for concocting so precise a document, between the hour of his awakening, after the arrival of Stokoe, and the handing of the paper to that officer. It is probable that the paper was prepared before the illness occurred. The course of events may well have been that, the conditions having been already written out, the opportunity was taken of the first subsequent indisposition, to allege an illness of that precise character which did require the constant attendance of a doctor. The vertigo may have actually occurred; such an illness would not be surprising in the case of a corpulent man, leading a sedentary life. But the evidence of the Longwood inmates is never worth much, and it is especially unconvincing on this occasion, for the alleged attack was exactly what they had been hoping for, and for which they had made preparation.

Keenly desirous of the honour of a private audience with the Emperor, and informed that he would not be admitted at all unless he accepted the conditions, Stokoe gave his adhesion, merely stipulating that the consent of the Admiral should be obtained. He saw nothing incompatible between his position as an officer in the Navy, in receipt of British pay, and the proposal that he was to be irremovable from his post by the Governor, the representative of the British Government. He thought it proper that a naval surgeon should be at liberty to refuse to the Governor, or the Admiral, all information as to the health of Napoleon, beyond one bulletin a week, which would have to be begged for on each occasion. It would seem that as he was not to be " meddled with " when in pursuit of his " medical functions," he was to have absolute freedom of movement. As Napoleon's medical adviser, he was to be given privileges which no other person on the island was allowed to enjoy. He expected to be free from all control, whether by the Governor or the Admiral, and to receive his naval pay at the same time. An attitude so unusual in a naval officer can only be ascribed to his belief that, like O'Meara, he would receive the special protection of those in authority in naval circles in England.

At 11 a.m., four hours after his arrival at Longwood, having agreed to the terms, surgeon Stokoe had the felicity of being ushered into the presence of Napoleon, for a private consultation which lasted several hours. When he finally emerged, surgeon Verling remarked to him that he had been admitted to a very long interview, to which he replied, "Yes, and a very important one; perhaps you are not aware that you are soon to be superseded." He assumed that the Admiral and Governor would consent to his replacing O'Meara. He proceeded further, and without waiting for the necessary permission, wrote out a bulletin describing Napoleon's condition, and gave the paper to Bertrand.

It was in the following terms: "Having been called to visit Napoleon, I found him in a very weak state, complaining of considerable pain in the right side in the region of the liver, and with shooting pain in the right shoulder. About midnight he had been suddenly seized with violent pains in the head, succeeded by vertigo and syncope which continued about a quarter of an hour; after recovering from this state he had recourse to the warm bath, which produced violent perspiration, and relieved him considerably.

"From the evident tendency of a determination of blood to the head, it will be highly necessary that a medical man should be near his person, in order that immediate assistance may be afforded in case of a recurrence of the above alarming symptoms, as well as for the daily treatment of chronic hepatitis which the above symptoms indicate."[1] This was exactly the bulletin desired, emphasizing the absolute necessity of the permanent residence at Longwood of a medical man whom Napoleon would be willing to consult—viz. Stokoe himself.

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[1] Admiralty, 1/5461.

Stokoe did not leave Longwood till after 2 p.m.[1] He went to "The Briars," and showed Admiral Plampin the proposed conditions. The Admiral said that they appeared so very extraordinary that they would require consideration, but at all events he did not think the squadron could dispense with his services entirely.

Although Stokoe had, in his pocket, a copy of the bulletin he had given to Bertrand, he did not show it to Plampin, but gave him merely a verbal account of Napoleon's illness. He saw his words being written down, and perceived that it would save trouble if he were to produce the paper in his pocket, but preferred to conceal the fact that he had given a bulletin to Bertrand. This was not the action of a man conscious of the rectitude of his conduct. As Nicholls said, "the regulations of the island were well known"[2] on the point. Stokoe defied them deliberately.

Stokoe admitted to the Admiral that he had given Bertrand information on various matters unconnected with his medical duties, regarding events which he knew were regarded with suspicion by the Governor and Admiral, and Plampin thereupon expressed to him his "astonishment and disapprobation."[3]

On the evening of the same day, the 17th January, at 9 p.m., Bertrand handed to Nicholls another letter for Stokoe. "I was expecting you this evening; it is nine o'clock and you have not come. Since you saw the Emperor his weakness has been increasing; he complains more; he is much more restless at this moment. I wish you to come here as soon as possible."

Stokoe was sent from the *Conqueror*, in accordance with this request, and arrived at Longwood at 5.30 a.m. of the 18th. He was admitted by Napoleon, and remained at

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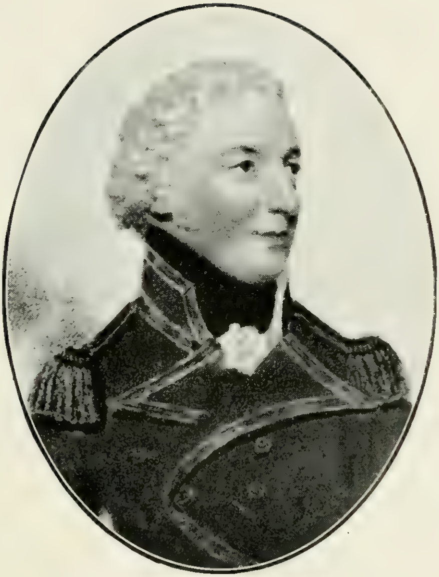
[1] B.M., 20125, p. 148. [2] Record Office, Admiralty, 1/5461.
[3] B.M., 20125, p. 100, Plampin to Lowe.



From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

REAR-ADMIRAL ROBERT J. PLAMPIN

Longwood till 4.30 p.m.—eleven hours.[1] Then he wrote, and left, the following bulletin: "Longwood, 18th January, 1819. The patient has passed a restless night, but without any alarming symptoms. At five in the morning he used the warm bath; at half-past three p.m. I found him rather more debilitated than yesterday, and advised a more nourishing diet. It appears from the symptoms of chronic hepatitis (the first appearance of which he experienced about sixteen months ago) that this is the principal cause of the present derangement in his health; and although they are described as having increased considerably of late, yet, judging from present appearances, I do not apprehend any immediate imminent danger, although it must be presumed that in a climate where the above disease is so prevalent, it will eventually shorten his life.

"The most alarming symptom is that which was experienced the night of the sixteenth, a recurrence of which may soon prove fatal, particularly if medical assistance is not at hand."[2]

The decision of the Governor, and Admiral, as to the proposed conditions, was contained in a letter from Gorrequer to Nicholls, as follows:—

"St. Helena,
"*Jan.* 18, 1819.

"Sir,

"In reference to the verbal communication which Count Bertrand made to you yesterday, I am directed, by the Governor, to acquaint you, that having conferred with Rear-Admiral Plampin, in respect to the continuance of Mr. Stokoe's medical attendance at Longwood, the Admiral has acquainted him, that he cannot dispense with Mr. Stokoe's services in the squadron, so far as to admit of his being entirely excused from it; nor could he release Mr. Stokoe from the obedience due to him, as Naval Commander-in-Chief, without the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

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[1] B.M., 20125, pp. 100, 120.

[2] Admiralty, 1/5461; B.M., 20125, p. 112.

" The Governor himself will have no objection to Mr. Stokoe affording his medical assistance to Napoleon Bonaparte, whenever so required; but he is desirous, in such cases, that Mr. Stokoe's professional visits should be made in conjunction with the physician, who is at present in attendance at Longwood, following, as near as possible, the instructions on this head."

Stokoe was not to take the place of O'Meara as resident physician, but he would attend whenever so required, in the company, if possible, of surgeon Verling.

Next day, Tuesday the 19th, Stokoe was sent for by Bertrand for the third time; he repaired to "The Briars" for permission to attend. On this occasion he was subjected to a cross-examination, and a minute was taken of the questions and answers, by Elliott, the Admiral's secretary.

Plampin asked: " Without questioning whether General Bonaparte has or has not chronic hepatitis, on what ground do you state that he has had it for sixteen months past?"—" From General Bonaparte's own account."

" Did you yourself observe any symptoms of chronic hepatitis, or otherwise?"—" From his tongue and appearance I should think it likely he has chronic hepatitis, but I cannot positively say he has."

" Was there any swelling complained of on the right side?"—" No."

" Did you ask to examine it?"—" Yes, but it was not swelled. I put my hand and pressed the side, when he said, 'That pains me.' "

" What was your opinion of his side? Was there any evident enlargement of the liver?"—" I did not observe there were any symptoms of a swelling of the liver, or of his ankles and feet, which I felt."

" On what authority do you know that General Bonaparte was seized on the night of the 16th with vertigo and syncope? Was it Bonaparte himself or Count Bertrand?"—"It was from what General Bonaparte and those about him told me, a servant, Count Bertrand, and Count Montholon. The servant called the two latter when he was seized."

"Was the determination of the blood to the head evident from any symptoms you observed?"—"There were no symptoms of it when I saw him."

"Was the name of the patient omitted in the bulletin you left at Longwood at the suggestion of Count Bertrand, or your own act alone, and why did you omit the name of General Bonaparte?"—"I asked Count Bertrand what I should say with respect to the name, when he answered, 'Napoleon' or 'the patient,' which was the reason of my not putting down 'General Bonaparte.' I understood this was their former way of beginning a bulletin."

Plampin. "I should have called him General Bonaparte, and not the patient. Earl Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe calls him General Bonaparte, Lord Melville to me always calls him General Bonaparte, therefore on all occasions I call him so, and I think the surgeon of the *Conqueror* in making a report to his Commander-in-Chief ought so to have styled him."[1]

The object of the questions was to ascertain whether Stokoe's reports were based upon his own diagnosis or upon what he had been told, and the answers showed that Stokoe had gone further than his own examination would have warranted. All that he discovered himself was that there was complaint of pain in the side, and the "tongue and appearance" suggested, but did not establish, "chronic hepatitis." This was not enough to justify his alarming bulletins, in which he said positively that Napoleon was suffering from chronic hepatitis, which in that climate would shorten his life, and predispose him to attacks of vertigo which might at any time prove fatal; and that therefore the presence of a surgeon living in the house was "highly necessary." There was not adequate ground for these assertions.

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[1] B.M., 20125, p. 143.

Stokoe arrived at Longwood at 6 p.m. on Tuesday, the 19th January. After a preliminary attempt to obtain the admission of Verling with himself, he decided to visit Napoleon alone. Nicholls felt it his duty to warn him that "he would himself become responsible for his conduct in that particular."[1]

After his visit to Napoleon Stokoe retired for the night to the house of General Bertrand. He was aroused by Bertrand at 3 a.m. for a further attendance on Napoleon, who was complaining of headache. At 11.30 a.m. Plampin recalled Stokoe by signal. He went to "The Briars," and handed the Admiral a written report, in which he said: "I found the General in a state of fever, with considerable heat of skin and increasing headache." He proposed bleeding and medicine, to both of which Napoleon objected. The report continued: "About three o'clock in the morning I was called up by Count Bertrand, to visit him again. I found none of the symptoms abated, and the headache much increased. I strongly urged the necessity of bleeding, which he at length submitted to, which afforded almost immediate relief; he took also shortly afterwards a strong dose of Cheltenham salts.

"I took this opportunity of more particularly examining the region of the liver, and am fully persuaded of the diseased state of that viscus, having distinctly felt a degree of hardness.

"This morning, when I saw him, the fever and headache had nearly left him; he appeared much better, but still complained of pain in the side. I therefore advised the immediate adoption of a course of mercury with other medicines, in such form as best suited to the constitution of the patient.—JOHN STOKOE.

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[1] B.M., 20125, p. 150, Nicholls to Gorrequer.

"The above were my reasons for staying at Longwood last night.—J. S.

"The above was written about the hour of 1 p.m., this 20th January, in our presence.

"R. PLAMPIN, Rear-Admiral.
"JOHN ELLIOTT, Sec. to do."

At 5 p.m. this day Bertrand gave Nicholls the fourth letter asking for the attendance of Stokoe, who can then have been aboard his ship only two or three hours. He was to be kept going backwards and forwards until Lowe and Plampin gave in. Reporting himself to the Admiral, Stokoe handed him a written request to be spared further attendance at Longwood, as follows:—

"HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP 'CONQUEROR,'
"ST. HELENA,
"*20th January*, 1819.

"SIR,

"The experience of to-day points out the necessity of my declining all further communication with Longwood.

"I therefore humbly beg leave that in case my services are again demanded in aid of General Bonaparte, you will cause Count Bertrand to be acquainted with my wishes on this head.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"JOHN STOKOE."

"To Rear-Admiral Plampin."

"Left with me at the Briars 20th January, ¼ past 7 p.m., by Mr. Stokoe on his way to Longwood.

"R. P."[1]

Without giving any immediate answer to this request, the Admiral ordered Stokoe to go up to Longwood and to return next morning by half-past ten, without fail.

Stokoe reached Longwood at 8 p.m., was admitted by

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[1] B.M., 20125, p. 173.

Napoleon at 10 p.m., and remained the night in Nicholls' quarters. His report to Plampin next day was: "I saw General Bonaparte yesterday, and his fever was slight, but he complained more of pain in the side. This morning the pain in the side continued nearly the same. I recommended the warm bath, which he took immediately, and in which he remained at my departure." These symptoms did not justify the demand for the return of Stokoe from his ship, for a second attendance on the same day.

Stokoe did not leave Longwood till about 12.30 p.m. of the 21st, and did not arrive at "The Briars" till 1.15 p.m.[1]

Plampin asked him: "What kept you so long after the hour I ordered you to call here?"—"General Bonaparte desired me to stay."

"So you disobeyed my order because General Bonaparte desired you to remain at Longwood?"—"He desired me to stay to see the effect of the warm bath."

"Was General Bonaparte so ill that you found your presence absolutely necessary?"—"No, I cannot say that he was so ill, but he desired me to stay."

If an officer, at the present day, having been expressly commanded to return by a certain hour, were to fail to do so, and were then to excuse himself by remarking that he had been asked to ignore the order, he would be severely dealt with.

It has since transpired that Stokoe, like O'Meara, had accepted a money bribe from Napoleon. A letter has come to light, addressed by Napoleon to his brother Joseph:—

"I beg you to pay to Doctor Stokoe £1000 sterling, which I owe him. When sending you this note he will give you all the details that you may desire about me.

"NAPOLÉON.

"Longwood, the 21st January, 1819."[2]

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[1] B.M., 20125, p. 176, Nicholls to Gorrequer. Admiralty, 1/5461.

[2] Published by Masson, "Autour de Sainte-Hélène," vol. iii, p. 212.

The money was actually paid by Eugène to O'Meara, on account of Stokoe, later in the year.[1]

With this letter in his pocket Stokoe applied for leave to follow O'Meara, alleging ill-health. It was granted, and he left St. Helena on the 30th January, 1819.

Before his departure an effort was made through him to influence the Russian Commissioner. Balmain and Bertrand were seen walking together for upwards of an hour in the road leading to Plantation House.[2] Then Stokoe, at the urgent request of Napoleon, was induced to visit the Russian, and give him a serious report. Stokoe told Balmain that he considered Napoleon to be very ill, that the attack in the night of the 16th–17th January had been, as Balmain reports, "apoplexie sanguine," that he was suffering from advanced liver obstruction, and his death might occur at any moment. While forwarding this report to his Government, Balmain remarks that "The English have assured me that on the 18th, the day after that on which he was said to be dying, Napoleon had taken a walk round his new house in a red flannel dressing-gown, leaning with his left arm on a billiard cue, holding in the other a field-glass, and that the orderly officer had heard him singing Fra Martino in his bedroom."[3]

Save for the visits paid by Stokoe, of the 17th to the 21st January, 1819, Napoleon was without medical advice from the 25th July, 1818, to the 20th September, 1819, a period of fourteen months. O'Meara, when he left in July, 1818, and Stokoe when called in six months later, both declared that the Emperor was in urgent need of constant professional attendance, and that without it his life would be in the gravest danger. Yet no serious illness occurred.

Stokoe was received in London by Sir George Cockburn, Sir Henry Hotham, and Dr. Weir in conclave. At the conclusion of their examination he was told that he would be sent back to St. Helena. Sir Pulteney Malcolm, in his polite way, told Stokoe he ought to consider his being sent back as a proof that his conduct had been approved. That was far from being the case, for, owing to the reports of Admiral Plampin, the surgeon was being sent to St. Helena to be tried by court-martial.

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[1] Gonnard, "Les Origines," p. 138, note 2.

[2] B.M., 20125, p. 187, Nicholls to Gorrequer.

[3] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 719.

The charges were drawn up, from the reports of Plampin, by the Attorney-General, and on the 7th April, 1819, they received the signatures of Lord Melville, the first Lord of the Admiralty, Sir G. Moore, and Sir G. Cockburn.[1]

Stokoe was sent back to St. Helena without any knowledge of the impending trial, an unnecessary cruelty. He was justified in his complaint that he was not given the chance of obtaining, in England, the favourable testimony of the commanders he had sailed under. The revelations of Gourgaud as to the impositions practised by O'Meara with regard to the health of Napoleon, and the outrageous attack by O'Meara on Sir Hudson Lowe, made the Lords of the Admiralty resolve to mark in the strongest manner their disapproval of the O'Meara system. It was to be made plain to all that the Admiralty would not extend its protection to any officer who should imitate the proceedings of the Irish surgeon.

Stokoe arrived at St. Helena on the 21st August, 1819. Two days before, in anticipation of his appearance, a last effort was made to obtain his appointment in O'Meara's post at Longwood. Bertrand wrote the following letter:—

"Longwood, this 19th August, 1819,
"At 11 o'clock at night.

"The Prince had a desire to leave his bed this evening, but hardly had he taken seven or eight paces out of his door than he fell; at this moment, 9 o'clock, he is ill, and claims more than ever the assistance of his physician Stokoe; and in the case of his not being arrived at this place that the physician whom he shall cause to be called be authorized to give him the same guarantees by signing the conditions of Dr. Stokoe, without which no physician can inspire him with any confidence, and without confidence the presence of a physician can only tend to increase the illness."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20126, p. 61.

This letter was left on the orderly officer's table at night. Nicholls found it there next morning. He had not been awakened, though the case was said to be urgent. The letter strengthens the suspicion as to the reality of the alleged syncope of the 17th January. A similar illness was now hinted at, just at the moment of Stokoe's expected return. The coincidence is too improbable, and if it was invented now it may have been invented on the earlier occasion.

The sittings of the court-martial commenced on the 30th August, 1819, on board H.M.S. *Conqueror*, President, Captain Wauchope, *Eurydice;* Captain Rennie, *Tees;* Commander Sir William Wiseman, Bart., *Sophie;* Commander Plumridge, *Sappho;* and Mr. Nicholls, purser of H.M.S. *Sophie*, officiating as Deputy-Judge-Advocate.[2] The charges as approved in London by Lord Melville, Sir G. Moore, and Sir G. Cockburn, were :—

"1. For having on or about the 17th January last, when permitted or ordered by Rear-Admiral Plampin, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Cape of Good Hope and the seas adjacent, etc., to visit Longwood for the purpose of affording medical assistance to General Bonaparte, then represented as being dangerously ill, communicated with the said General or his attendants on subjects not at all connected with medical advice, contrary to standing orders in force for the governance of His Majesty's naval officers at St. Helena."

The original charge, as signed by the Lords of the Admiralty, read "permitted by Rear-Admiral," etc. Plampin, in evidence, said that he had not "ordered" Stokoe to go to Longwood, although he had clearly done so, as the note delivered to Captain Davie in the early morning of the 17th makes certain. The Court, having ascertained this fact, inserted the words "or ordered." Plampin's testimony, and his memory, were discredited on this point.

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[1] Admiralty, 1/5461.

[2] Record Office, Admiralty, 1/5461.

The charge itself is really trivial. Whatever the regulations might be, it remained impossible, as well as unnecessary, for a surgeon to confine himself entirely to medical remarks, when on a visit of some hours' duration at Longwood.

"2. For having on or about the same day, on receiving communication both in writing and verbally from some of the French prisoners at Longwood, taken notice of and given an answer to such communications previous to making them known to the Commander-in-Chief, contrary to the said standing orders."

This refers to Stokoe's conditional acceptance of the proposals for his replacing O'Meara. He should have acquainted Plampin with the offer, without expressing any opinion, or making any response to the Longwood prisoners. The regulations to that effect were stringent, and had been expressly brought before every officer in the St. Helena ships.

"3. For having, in pursuance of such unauthorized communication, signed a paper purporting to be a bulletin of General Bonaparte's health, and delivering the same to the said General or his attendants, contrary to the said orders, and to his duty as a British naval officer."

Stokoe's reply was that he had not supposed that the regulations against correspondence forbade a medical report. But there was no necessity to write one. Stokoe was probably the only medical officer on the station who was prepared to transgress the regulation, with so little object.

"4. For having in such bulletin stated facts relative to the health of General Bonaparte which did not fall under his, the said Mr. John Stokoe's, own observation, and which, as he afterwards confessed, were dictated or suggested to him by the said General or his attendants, and for having signed the same as if he himself had witnessed the said facts, which was not the truth, and was inconsistent with his character and duty as a British naval officer."

Stokoe was accused of accepting the exaggerations of Longwood, and writing as if he had himself observed the symptoms.

"5. For having in the said bulletin inserted the following paragraph: 'The more alarming symptom is that which was experienced in the night of the 16th, a recurrence of which may soon prove fatal, particularly if medical assistance is not at hand'; intending thereby, contrary to the character and duty of a British officer, to create a false impression or belief, that General Bonaparte was in imminent or considerable danger, and that no medical assistant was at hand, he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, not having witnessed any such symptom, and knowing that the state of the patient was so little urgent, that he was four hours at Longwood before he was admitted to see him, and further, knowing that Dr. Verling was at hand, and ready to attend if required in any such emergency."

This is a continuation of the previous charge. Stokoe was accused of accepting the story of the syncope, "not having witnessed any such symptom," and of exaggerating its significance. There was no answer.

"6. For having, contrary to his duty, communicated to General Bonaparte or his attendants information relative to certain books, letters, and papers said to have been sent from Europe for the said persons, and which had been intercepted by the Governor of St. Helena, and for having conveyed to the said General or his attendants some information respecting their money concerns, contrary to his duty, which was to afford medical advice only."

This referred to the Holmes correspondence. The suggestion is that Stokoe criticised the action of the Governor, which he probably did; in that case he was guilty of insubordination.

"7. For having, contrary to his duty and to the character of a British naval officer, communicated to the said General Bonaparte or his attendants an infamous and calumnious imputation cast upon Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena, by Barry O'Meara, late surgeon in the Royal Navy, implying that Sir Hudson Lowe had practised with the said O'Meara to induce him to put an end to the existence of the said General Bonaparte."

When Stokoe referred to what O'Meara had said at Ascension, he did not know that the Irishman had been dismissed the Navy for repeating the statement in his letter to the Board of Admiralty. He thought that, supported by Lord Melville and other naval men of influence, O'Meara would triumph over Sir Hudson Lowe. He therefore spoke at Longwood of O'Meara's accusation, perhaps with complacency, certainly without disapproval; for if he had denounced it he would have mentioned the fact in his defence. It was a very serious thing that an officer should support, or at least fail to reprobate, so gross an assertion against the Governor. When there were officers capable of such conduct, some excuse may be found for the prohibition against all conversation at Longwood outside medical matters.

"8. For having disobeyed the positive command of his superior officer in not returning from Longwood on or about the 21st January aforesaid, at the hour especially prescribed to him by the Rear-Admiral, there being no justifiable cause for his disobeying such commands."

Stokoe brought evidence to show that on his return he had fallen from his horse, but he started two hours after the time at which he had been ordered to arrive; and he told Admiral Plampin that the chief cause of his failure to return at the time prescribed was that Napoleon desired him to stay. As already observed, there can be no excuse for preferring the wish of Napoleon to the command of the Admiral.

" 9. For having knowingly and willingly designated General Bonaparte in the said bulletin in a manner different from that in which he is designated in the Act of Parliament for the better custody of his person, and contrary to the practice of His Majesty's Government, of the Lieutenant-General, Governor of the island, and of the said Rear-Admiral, and for having done so at the special instance and request of the said General Bonaparte or his attendants, though he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, well knew that the mode of designation was a point in dispute between the said General Bonaparte and Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe and the British Government, and that by acceding to the wish of the said General Bonaparte, he, the said Mr. John Stokoe, was acting in opposition to the wish and practice of his own superior officers and to the respect which he owed, under the general printed instructions."

Stokoe's answer was that he was endeavouring to please Bertrand. That admits the charge; for he was accused of " knowingly and wilfully " preferring the Longwood desire, though he " well knew " that by acceding to it he was acting in opposition to his superior officers. All discipline would be at an end if such conduct were allowed to pass unpunished.

" 10. For having in the whole of his conduct in the aforesaid transactions evinced a disposition to thwart the intentions and regulations of the said Rear-Admiral, and to further the views of the said French prisoners in furnishing them with false or colourable pretences for complaint, contrary to the respect which he owed to his superior officers, and to his own duty as an officer in His Majesty's Royal Navy."

This general charge is substantiated. Stokoe did take the part of Longwood in opposition to the Admiral, which was undoubtedly contrary to the respect which he owed, and to his duty as an officer.

The decision of the Court, given on the 2nd September, 1819, after a trial extending over four days, was that as regards the ninth charge it was proved merely that surgeon Stokoe had designated Napoleon as "the patient," and that all the other charges were proved.[1] Lowe wrote to Bathurst, on the 15th September, that Sir William Wiseman, Bart., one of the members of the Court, "told me, after the court-martial was over, he believed there had never been a court-martial assembled where the deliberation had been more full and impartial or where the members had taken more pains to inform themselves on every point, and to form the judgment without any motives of prejudice. He had been a very short time here. He expressed his astonishment at the infamous falsehoods, as he termed them, which had been circulated in England respecting the system observed here."

The sentence on Stokoe was dismissal from the Navy, with a recommendation that in consideration of his long services he should be placed upon half pay. That, for a dismissed officer, was not possible, but a civil list pension of £100 a year was granted, with £300 extra pay for the St. Helena period of service, and eleven-twelfths of full pay from the time he invalided till his return to the *Conqueror*. "This spontaneous generosity," says Stokoe, "spoke volumes, and was gratifying to me. It showed that I was not regarded as a culprit; it evinced milder feelings towards me, and encouraged the hope that, after the lapse of a few years, I might be restored to my rank."[2]

Besides his civil list pension Stokoe obtained the £1000 bribe from Napoleon, through Eugène, and assistance from other members of the Bonaparte family, so that late in life he was able to marry. Stokoe's acceptance of the £1000 bribe would by itself have justified his dismissal from the Navy, but the transaction had not been revealed at the time of the court-martial. Without that knowledge, the sentence upon him must be considered severe. A less punishment would have met the case, as it was presented. But the Naval Lords had to put themselves right with public opinion, after the encouragement they had given to O'Meara, and Stokoe's fault was made the most of, in order to clear the reputations of the heads of the Navy in England. The original cause of the wrong conduct, and of the subsequent dismissals, of both O'Meara and Stokoe, was the disloyalty of Lord Melville and Sir Pulteney Malcolm to Sir Hudson Lowe.

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[1] Admiralty, 1/5461.

[2] "With Napoleon at St. Helena," p. 186.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE DEPARTURE OF COMTESSE DE MONTHOLON

ON the 2nd April, 1819, Mr. Ricketts, a cousin of Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, with whom he had long been on intimate terms, landed at St. Helena on his way to England from the East.[1] On the introduction of Bertrand he was received by Napoleon, with whom he remained for four hours. He was the last of Napoleon's visitors.

Ricketts gave the following report of what occurred: "I was ushered into a very small room where Napoleon was lying in a camp bed with only his shirt on, with a coloured handkerchief round his head, and with his beard of three or four days' growth. The room admitted so little light that I could not at first discern his features, though subsequent introduction of candles gave me however a tolerable view of them. He resembled the picture of him leaning on the capstan of the *Northumberland*, and a French picture with laurel round his head. His complexion did not appear to be sallower than what it is ordinarily represented to be: not particularly dark under his eyes, nor exhibiting otherwise, in my opinion, any particular marks indicative of his being afflicted with the liver or any other severe bodily complaint. He sat up, inclining on the pillow with his right arm brought round the metal post of the camp cot, and in moving two or three times he did so as if in pain. He seemed to be a little deaf. As far as I could judge he is much fatter than he is generally represented to be, his head and cheeks very

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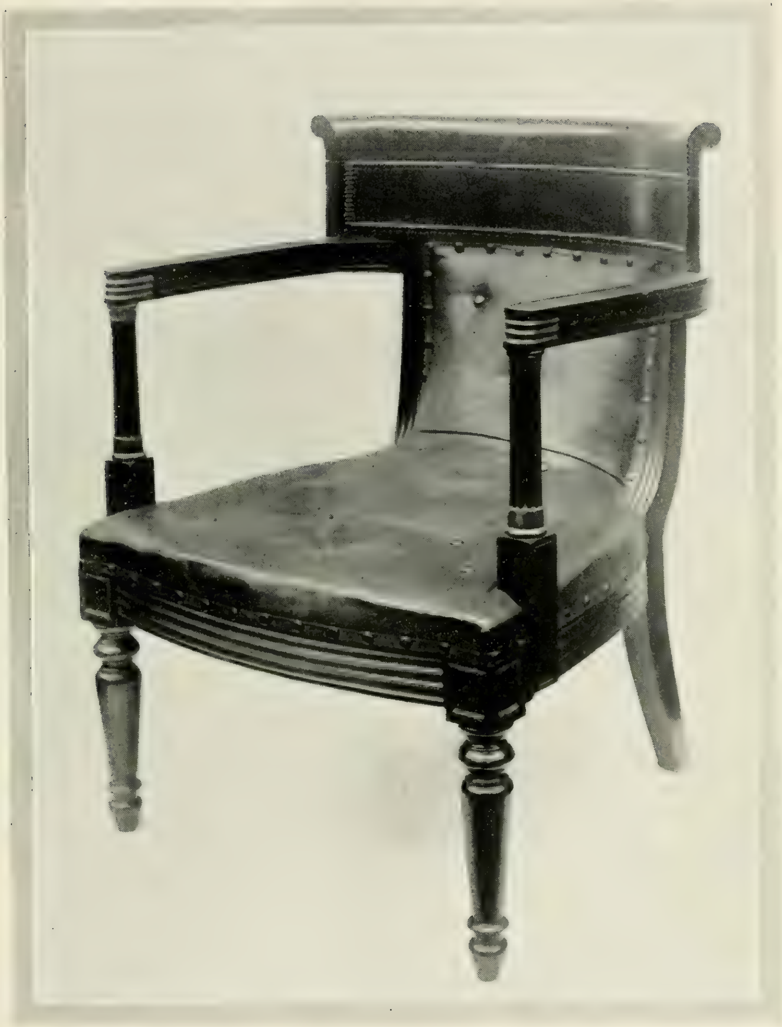
[1] B.M., 20126, pp. 4, 14.



NAPOLEON'S FAVOURITE CHAIR AT LONGWOOD

Purchased at the sale at Jamestown in 1822 by Denzil Ibbetson, and now in possession of his daughter, Miss Laura Ibbetson

large and sunk between his shoulders, his hands plump, and altogether he struck me as likely to become very corpulent. In a grumbling tone of voice he desired me to be seated, an honour which is not customary, I understand. I sat fronting him, and Count Bertrand took a chair to the right of him; his manners were rough and brusque, consequently to me far from fascinating. He possesses a readiness of delivery and his sentences were epigrammatical and pithy, constituting a peculiarity as observed by many. In his conversation he was animated and sometimes facetious; quick of thought and rapidly changing his subject and renewing it. I had very few remarks to make, and not many questions put to me, but he frequently said to me, 'Comprenez vous?'"[1]

"The object of this masquerade—for that is what it really was"—reported Balmain to his Government, "was to excite compassion by appearing to be extremely ill. I do not know whether he was well or ill. There is no certain information as to his state of health, but I am of opinion that he could have put on trousers, and could have stood or sat up, without killing himself."[2]

Preparation had been made for the visit, the attitude to be adopted had been discussed, and certain demands had been written out, and a paper containing them was given to Ricketts. They were as follows:

"1. To be removed from the island because I am suffering from chronic hepatitis.

"2. That in whatever position I may be, the proper policy is to place me near a man of honour who understands the forms of politeness.

"3. To send back to me my doctor O'Meara, or give me a Frenchman, or send me an English civilian who has no military tie and is of good reputation.

"4. Not to compel me to occupy the new house, because there are no trees, because it is too near the camp, and it is in that part of the island where there are no trees: an oak is what I want.

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[1] Record Office, C.O., 247.25.
[2] "Revue Bleu," 1897, pp. 721–2.

"5. Lord Liverpool is asked to send the order that my home is not to be violated and I am not to be threatened with intrusion.

"6. That Lord Liverpool should authorize a direct, sealed correspondence with himself, which should not pass through Lord Bathurst; or with a Peer of the Realm who would act as our advocate with the Ministry, such as Lord Holland; in that way the public would be kept out of all this."

Bertrand and Montholon both had great hopes of the effect of this visit. Ricketts had been polite, and it was believed, therefore, that he was sympathetic, and that his representations to his cousin would produce a change in the direction desired. At least it was certain that the paper taken away by Ricketts would be delivered direct to Lord Liverpool.

On this, as on other occasions, the good manners of a visitor raised hopes which were doomed to be disappointed. In a despatch to Lowe of the 12th July, 1819, Lord Bathurst wrote: "Nothing could have been more fortunate than Mr. Ricketts' visit at St. Helena. He has given the most satisfactory reports concerning the real state of the business, and saw through all the manœuvres which were practised to impose upon him."[1]

This is an instructive example of the effect of Napoleon's methods. He made so bad an impression upon his visitor by his efforts at deception, that his demands could not make their intended appeal. Ricketts inevitably reported that Napoleon was acting a part, a conclusion which militated against the chance of his complaints being sympathetically considered.

Napoleon continued his efforts to obtain a second O'Meara.

[1] B.M., 20127, p. 54.

He sent Montholon to Verling, with the message that the Emperor would give him a salary of £480 a year; he was to retain his position as surgeon in the artillery, but it was distinctly to be understood that he was not to be guided in his medical attendance by any concern as to his promotion in the service, or any desire to remain well with the Governor. To save him all anxiety on that score Napoleon would advance a sum to his credit with the banking house of Baring large enough to furnish him with an income equivalent to his pay in England. The only consideration was, as Verling reported to Sir Hudson Lowe: "That in my bulletins my report might lean rather to an augmentation than a diminution of the malady; that I might draw the line rather above than below, as he was still in hopes that *la force des choses* might remove him from St. Helena." "To this proposal," reported Verling, "I replied that I conceived it totally incompatible with my duty to enter into a private agreement with Napoleon Bonaparte."

The fact that Verling had been approached showed that he was in favour at Longwood, and that—not unreasonably—made Lowe watch him with extra care. But his apprehensions should not have carried him to the point of expressing, in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, suspicion of Verling on the inadequate ground that he had certain Roman Catholic relations. Lord Bathurst was in advance of the feeling of the party to which he belonged, in being in favour of Catholic emancipation. He delivered a snub to the Governor on this matter. His reply, sent on the 8th April, 1819, through Goulburn, was to order Sir Hudson Lowe himself to inform Dr. Verling that the Governor's reference to Verling's Roman Catholic relations could "make no impression on his lordship's mind, and that whatever may be his connections in Ireland or the religions either of himself or them, Lord Bathurst cannot permit any circumstance of that nature to invalidate the confidence to which his uniform discretion and propriety of conduct, up to the date of your last communication, so justly entitle him."[1] Lowe read this letter to Verling on the 20th August, 1819.[2]

Napoleon was now to lose one whose loss he felt severely. Madame de Montholon was leaving St. Helena. The chief cause was the death of her mother and the need of being in Europe, to take her share in the estate. She was also to endeavour to obtain a substitute for her husband. She received Napoleon's instructions with regard to the efforts which should be made on his behalf. Madame de Montholon had been very generally liked. Balmain says that she was a woman of wit and sense, who had been very amiable, and whose society had been for him a great resource. For Napoleon her departure was a terrible blow; it is said that he shed tears. In truth it was an appalling situation. All wanted to leave him. Even Pierron and St. Denis asked the Governor to enable them to leave Longwood. Montholon had on several occasions begged to be allowed to go, but Napoleon clung to him, for he would have been left with Bertrand alone, and the Grand Marshal and his wife had not the pliant manners, the desire to be pleasant, which had made the Montholons such favourites. Montholon told Gorrequer that he would not remain six months after his wife's departure, but until then he would continue *l'homme de l'Empereur*. He wished to leave him on good terms and not lose the fruit of four years' attendance upon him in such conditions.[3]

Montholon stayed on till the end, but he had to be bribed to do so by a promise of a large bequest in Napoleon's will, which was in fact ultimately given.

Lowe, being applied to, observed that according to the regulations under which he had to act, any person wishing to leave Longwood had to be sent first to the Cape to await instructions from England, but he was willing to waive the

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[1] B.M., 20126, p. 82.

[2] Verling's Journal. The original is in the Archives Nationales, Paris. My source is a copy kindly lent me by Dr. Arnold Chaplin.

[3] B.M., 20126, p. 302.

Cape journey if the doctors gave him a report that it was necessary for Madame to go to Europe at once, on account of her health. This was obtained on the 7th January, 1819, signed by Drs. Verling and Livingstone. They reported that Madame de Montholon had suffered severely and for a length of time, in France, from a disease of the liver, and that the functions of the stomach and liver were much impaired. She needed change of air.[1] O'Meara had given her five grains of mercurial pill twice a day for several weeks, with the result that her gums became spongy and she exhibited symptoms of mercurial poisoning. She had not recovered from that treatment.[2]

Livingstone afterwards quarrelled with Verling, whom he accused of having invented an illness of Montholon's, in order that the Count might follow his wife.

Madame de Montholon took with her the three children, with Guillaume and Adèle Graff, and a mulatto woman, as attendants. Her ship, the *Lady Campbell*, was an Indiaman from Bombay. Madame could draw without payment on the surplus of the supplies sent by the British Government to Longwood, where they accumulated from want of persons to consume them. She took 12 boxes containing various groceries, such as chocolate, biscuits, macaroni, marmalade, coffee, etc.; she took, in wine, 72 bottles of claret, 15 each of champagne, sauterne, madeira, and constantia, and six of brandy, or 138 bottles in all, for a passage which had been done in 41 days and seldom lasted 60; in live stock she took 12 turkeys, 72 fowls, 2 goats, and 2 ducks.[3] The goats were to provide milk for the children. The *Lady Campbell* was short of poultry.

The sole occupation of Montholon now was attendance on Napoleon, a task for which he was well fitted, but there were times when he felt as if he could no longer put up with the separation from his wife, and the monotony of the Longwood existence. He was cheered by letters from his wife in answer to his; the correspondence is one of the most reliable of the sources of information for the last two years of Napoleon's life. Every letter had to be read by Sir Hudson Lowe before it was delivered.

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[1] B.M., p. 366.
[2] Verling's Journal, p. 1.
[3] B.M., 20126, p. 458.

Now that O'Meara and Balcombe had been removed, and Cole and others had been specially warned, it was no longer an easy matter to find persons willing to assist in the transfer of secret correspondence. On the 29th May Captain Ripley, of the East Indiaman *Regent*, informed Sir Thomas Reade that he had been offered £600 to take a Longwood letter; he was to walk on the road between Hutt's Gate and Longwood, where he would be met by a person who would give him the letter and a draft for the money on the banking firm of Sir John Lubbock and Co.; he was told that two captains of the East India Company's ships had taken letters in the same way and for the like payment. Captain Ripley had been on shore five days; he could not remember who it was who brought him this interesting offer, nor did he disclose it till his ship was about to sail, too late for Sir Hudson Lowe to make any enquiry into the matter. Sir George and Lady Bingham sailed by the *Regent*, on the 30th May; all that Lowe could do was to send Bingham a list of thirty-four persons, mostly Jamestown tradespeople, whom he considered open to suspicion, and to ask Bingham to make close enquiries about them, of Captain Ripley during the voyage. But as the Captain had already declared that he could not remember who had spoken to him a few days before on the matter, it was not probable that his memory could be made to improve. Bingham got nothing out of him.

Sir George and Lady Bingham had been respected and liked by all. Lowe was especially sorry to lose Sir George, who had been, as he wrote to Bathurst, a "cordial, zealous, and effective" supporter, and he made known to the Secretary of State his "most earnest desire that he may be enabled soon to return" to St. Helena. Sir Hudson lost at this time another man who was to prove one of his most ardent defenders, Lieutenant Basil Jackson, who left for England on the 8th July.

As the foreign doctor might arrive any day, Napoleon made a last effort to obtain an English surgeon on his side, through whom he could bring influence upon public opinion. Madame Bertrand told Verling that the Emperor " did not like the coming of the foreign surgeon and would have preferred an English one," and she reproached him " for not wishing to be in daily communication with so great a man."[1] Further attempts were made to suborn Verling. On the 15th August Montholon approached him again. He was to sign a paper containing the conditions which had been accepted by Stokoe, pending the Governor's appeal, then he would be " called up in the night, as if to a sudden illness of Napoleon." His acceptance, as in the case of Stokoe, was to be the necessary preliminary to his admission to Napoleon, and would be considered to have been given " through a laudable desire not to allow a piece of formality to prevent me from giving medical assistance in a case which was represented as extremely urgent." The fraud committed on Stokoe is here plainly exposed. Napoleon, writes Verling, would " that very night give me 3000 louis, and in case in the morning discussions or disputes might arise, which should prevent me remaining at Longwood, I had this sum in my possession." If he remained he would have £500 a year secured to him in the English funds for his lifetime. Verling's answer was that this was a mere repetition of an old offer, to which he had before given an explicit refusal.

Then, on the 19th, Bertrand wrote the letter asserting that Napoleon had fallen down in the night. Dr. Arnott was sent up by Lowe to offer his services, and Bertrand tried to induce him to accept the Stokoe conditions, " which would give him his independence of the Governor."[2] Arnott, of course, refused.

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[1] Verling's Journal, 12th September, 1819.

[2] *Ibid.*, 15th–20th August, 1819.

On the 8th September a final effort was made. Montholon told Verling that Napoleon would accept his services on two conditions only, and by word of honour: (1) He was not to make any written report of Napoleon's health without his knowledge and without giving him a copy. (2) He was not to report any conversation he might hear at Longwood. Verling replied that he was in the hands of the Governor, who, on hearing his report, declined all conditions limiting the British authority over a British officer.

On the arrival of Antommarchi, Verling left Longwood for Jamestown. Madame Bertrand wished him to continue as her medical adviser, preferring him to Antommarchi, but Verling discovered that Lowe, while not forbidding it, disliked his attendance upon her. Verling on the 6th October applied for twelve months' leave of absence. On the 17th Lowe wrote him a letter expressing " full approbation " of his " line of conduct," and he wrote to the Secretary of the Board of Ordnance Department, asking for Verling full pay in addition to the table allowance of £1 a day, for the period of his residence at Longwood.[1]

Verling continued to visit Madame Bertrand. Lowe declined to forbid him, but he informed Verling that he desired to discourage the Longwood society from supposing that a " British medical officer is likely to be appointed as a fixed attendant upon them in addition to the foreign one who is already placed there." Verling then told Madame Bertrand to send for Livingstone, the recognized accoucheur. A general quarrel ensued, of the characteristic St. Helena type. Verling and Livingstone were not on good terms. Lowe would not give Verling any direct orders, either to attend Madame Bertrand or to stay away. Seeing his guards disputing, Napoleon sent Montholon to rush in and add to their difficulties by demanding the attendance of Verling upon himself, the Count, the existence of Antommarchi being ignored. Lowe declined to give Verling any orders on

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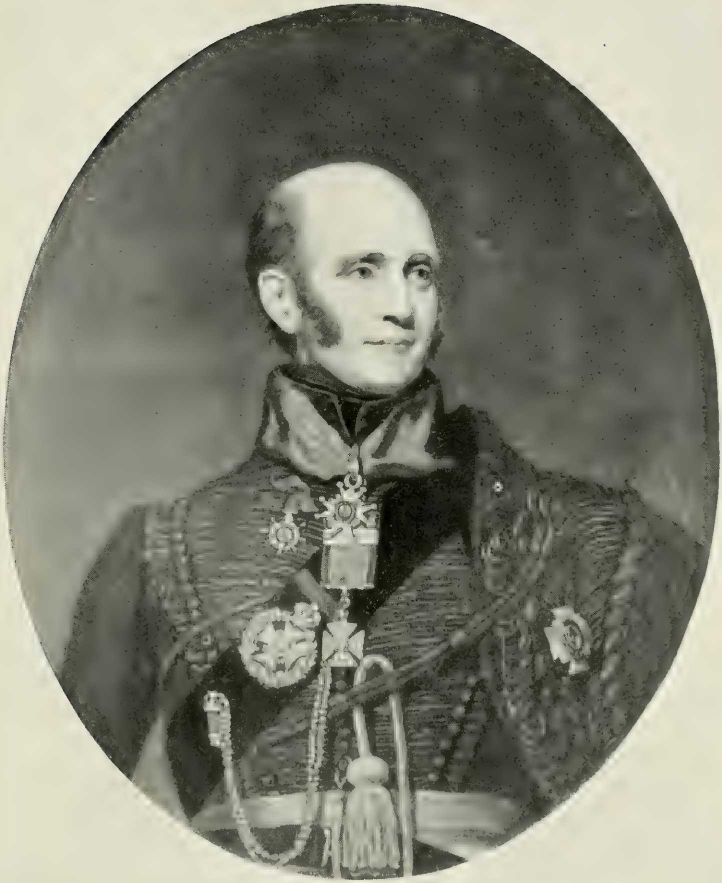
[1] Verling's Journal, B.M., 20128, pp. 312, 313.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE RIDEOUT BINGHAM, K.C.B.

From the engraved portrait by W. Ward, after H. W. Pickersgill, R.A.

this matter. He expressed his surprise that the surgeon, having applied for leave of absence, did not act upon it, but Col. Power, R.A., on being appealed to, said it was natural that Verling should wish to avoid the winter in Edinburgh. Verling did not depart until the 23rd April, more than six months after his application for leave, unnecessarily late in the season if his object had been merely to avoid an Edinburgh winter. Before parting he had a discussion with Lowe, who said he had written a letter to Lord Bathurst which would " do away with any unfavourable impressions which might have been made upon his mind by my remaining upon the island. A long and angry conversation in consequence ensued," writes Verling, and the conclusion was that Lowe observed, in parting, " Well, sir, I shall send my letter to Lord Bathurst."[1]

It was the influence of Napoleon that caused this small breeze. He encouraged Madame Bertrand, and ordered Montholon to insist upon the attendance of Verling, in order to place him in antagonism to the Governor. Lowe perceived this, and did his best for Verling with letters of recommendation to Lord Bathurst.

Captain Nicholls, the orderly, continued to complain of the difficulty he had in obtaining a glimpse of Napoleon, even once a day. The proposal by Sir Hudson Lowe to give Napoleon the whole of the island, except Jamestown and some parts of the coast, for free exploration unattended by a British officer, during the daytime, if he would admit the orderly officer into his presence twice a day, had not been accorded the courtesy of a reply of any sort. Nicholls had to continue his unpleasant task of trying to find Napoleon. On the 15th May, 1819, he wrote to Major Gorrequer: " I must here beg leave to state that in the execution of my duty yesterday I was upon my feet upwards of *ten hours*, endeavouring to procure a sight of Napoleon Bonaparte, either in his little garden or at one of his windows, but could not succeed; that during the whole of this time I was exposed to the observations and remarks of not only the French servants, but also to gardeners and other persons employed about Longwood House; and that I have very *frequently* experienced days of this kind since I have been employed on this duty." The italics are a measure of the orderly's distress.

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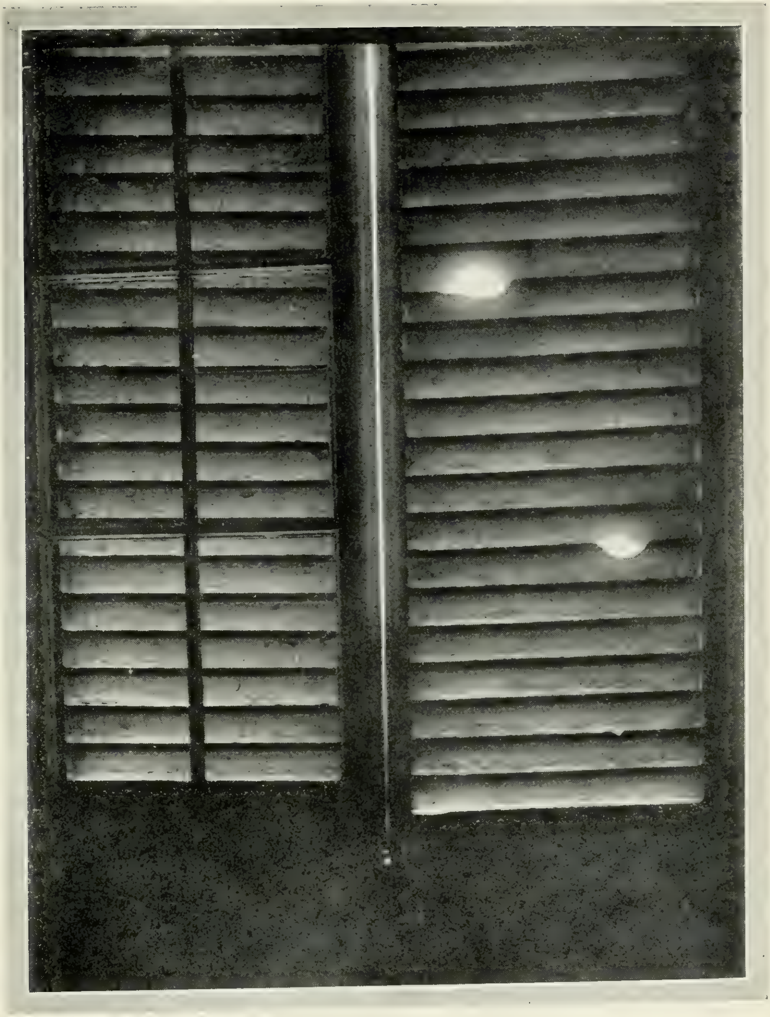
[1] Verling's Journal, 23rd April, 1820.

On the 14th June he wrote: "At about a quarter past four o'clock yesterday afternoon I waited on Count Montholon to request his assistance, as I had been for nearly two days without seeing General Bonaparte. The Count told me that Napoleon Bonaparte was in bed (or on it) and consequently I could not see him. In the course of *half an hour after this interview* I unexpectedly saw General Bonaparte in the lower walk of Longwood garden; he was in the act of leaning against a tree, and *full dressed*, in a cocked hat, green coat, white breeches and stockings. The Bertrands joined him soon, and they walked together for a considerable time." He mentioned the occurrence "to show the deception which these people are at times in the habit of practising towards me."

On the 5th July Montholon, in answer to Nicholls' complaints, said that Napoleon often walked in the billiard-room after dinner, and that if he could not see him from the window he might try the keyhole. Nicholls was indignant at the idea. He reported: "I told the Count that I certainly should not adopt such a plan, and we parted."

On the 6th he says: "During the greater part of the day I have employed myself in walking about Longwood garden, and endeavouring to obtain a sight of Napoleon Bonaparte at one of his windows, but to no effect; and in the execution of this duty I am not only exposed to the observations of the gardener but also to very bad weather." Again, 21st July: "Yesterday I was upon my feet at least ten hours walking about Longwood garden, but had no opportunity given me of seeing General Bonaparte." . . . "The weather at present



THE SHUTTERS AT BERTRAND'S HOUSE, WITH THE OBSERVATION HOLES CUT FOR NAPOLEON

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

is so very bad that I fear my health will be greatly injured if I am under the necessity of continuing the system of walking round Longwood House and garden in the execution of my duty."[1]

The unfortunate officer's peregrinations were observed by Napoleon through the holes made in the shutters for that very purpose, and his movements were watched, with amusement, by the servants and gardeners. When it was fine, and Napoleon was out of doors, these domestics were sent to give notice whenever the orderly by chance turned his steps towards the spot where the Emperor happened to be. "I am pretty certain that he keeps some of his servants constantly employed to watch my movements, so that it's nearly impossible for me to procure a sight of him," wrote Nicholls to Reade.[2]

On the 11th September: "I believe that I saw General Bonaparte to-day at a little before 2 o'clock p.m. The person who I took to be him was standing at one of the General's dressing-room windows and in a *white dressing-gown*, but soon after I made my appearance opposite the window he let down the blinds, which prevented me from seeing his face."

On the 12th Nicholls reported to Gorrequer: "I had not a very good view of the figure of the person whom I saw yesterday in General Bonaparte's dressing-room, because he endeavoured to secret [*sic*] himself on one side of the window when I appeared opposite. I however saw plainly that the person had a white dressing-gown on, and I never saw any of General Bonaparte's domestics in that kind of dress."[3]

In this game of hide-and-seek Nicholls was single-handed against the whole of Longwood, and he had to do all the seeking in the open, without being permitted to enter the lair into which the quarry could scuttle.

On one occasion Bertrand was sent to say that if Nicholls looked through the bathroom window he might have the privilege of seeing an Emperor in his bath. He hurried at once to the spot, but could not see through the glass, probably owing to the moisture that had been deposited upon it by the hot fumes. Reporting this to Bertrand he was told to try again, which he did, and finding the window now open he saw Napoleon " up to his neck in water in a bath ; he had a most ghastly appearance. Marchand, his chief valet, attending him." That is the only record we have of a voluntary exposure to the orderly. The Emperor's principle was that, except by accident, the British officer should see him naked or not at all.

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[1] B.M., 20127, Nicholls' Journal.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20125, p. 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, 20128, p. 141.

Captain Nicholls was orderly at Longwood for 421 days, and he failed to see Napoleon, or obtain other adequate evidence of his presence, on 134 of these days. That means that every day, for a total period amounting to more than four months, he spent wandering, wet or fine, round Longwood House and garden without achieving his object ; and that he had to do the same for some time on most of the remaining 287 days, more than nine months. One of his successes took him nearly twelve hours. Four months of incessant, and nine months of intermittent, sentry marching was his lot. No wonder he sent in to Major Gorrequer a formal petition to be allowed to resign his " arduous duty " and rejoin his regiment.[1]

Sir Hudson Lowe himself chanced to be able to save the orderly one day's vigil. On the 4th August, 1819, he saw Napoleon for the first time since the famous interview of the 18th August, 1816. " I had repaired to Longwood," he wrote to Bathurst, " to give directions about some alterations he had himself desired in his garden, when I suddenly found myself quite close to him. He had his back turned to me, and he had a long stick like a wand in his hand, was dressed in his usual uniform, looked as lusty as I had seen him, but walked with a gait that bore somewhat the appearance of infirmity." Nicholls, who was with the Governor, says: "We came upon him very unexpectedly; it appears that he had been apprised of our approach, for he was making play up a path towards the house with little Nap Bertrand, with a long stick in his hand; he, however, got on very slowly."

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[1] B.M., 20128, p. 70. Nicholls' Journal, 29th June, 1819.

The object of all this hiding was to compel the Governor to order an entry by force into Napoleon's apartments. Even letters were refused. Nicholls tendered written communications from the Governor addressed to "Napoleon Bonaparte," the objectionable "General Bonaparte" being no longer used, but neither Bertrand, nor Montholon, nor Marchand would accept them. Nicholls was ordered to enter as far into the interior of Longwood House as he could, without opening a locked door, and place the letters on the table of the furthest room so reached. When he endeavoured to carry out these instructions, there was the usual threat that Napoleon would shoot in the doorway any person who attempted to outrage the privacy of his apartments. Fortunately for Nicholls there was a temporary alleviation of his duties when, on the 20th September, 1819, the *Snipe* brought to St. Helena the doctor, priests, and domestics, who had been so long expected.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ARRIVAL OF ANTOMMARCHI AND THE PRIESTS

IT lay with Cardinal Fesch to select a surgeon, a priest, a major-domo, and a cook, all to be Frenchmen, who were to start as soon as possible for England *en route* for St. Helena. In August, 1818, he received from Lord Bathurst the assurance that the British Government would forward the chosen persons to their destination.

Fourreau de Beauregard applied for the position of medical attendant. He had been with Napoleon at Elba, and had been promoted to the high position of Physician to the Emperor during the Hundred Days. Napoleon would have been delighted to have him at Longwood, and he was anxious to go. Cardinal Fesch had other views.

Although Fesch owed his Archbishopric and his Cardinal's hat to Napoleon, his half-uncle, as a priest he could not support the Emperor's policy towards the Pope. When the Empire fell, the opposition he had shown to the Emperor's Papal policy enabled him to retain his high position in the Church, but he was compelled to reside at Rome, to be under the watchful eye of the Sacred College, and he had to be always prepared to rebut the suspicion of Bonapartism, which inevitably attached to him.

Madame Mère, Jerome, and Pauline were allowed to live at Rome so long as the Cardinal's conduct was satisfactory. Lucien and Louis also owed their security to the Cardinal's reputation. Fesch was therefore completely under the control of the Church. The Papal policy decreed that no Frenchman should be sent to St. Helena, nor any man of spirit and ability. Napoleon was to be isolated to the utmost extent.[1] The Cardinal was instructed to decline the offer of Fourreau, on the specious plea that he was not a surgeon, and that Napoleon had asked for a surgeon. Taking his time about it, Fesch ultimately, with the support of Madame Mère, who always espoused the claims of her compatriots, appointed a young Corsican, Francesco Antommarchi. Now Antommarchi was neither a physician, nor a surgeon, nor a Frenchman, nor had he ever been in medical practice at all.

Francesco Antommarchi was born in 1789 at Morsiglia, a village near Capo Corso, in the extreme north of Corsica. Napoleon's opinion of the *Capo-Corsini* was that they were conceited and presuming, captious and heady. In 1808, aged nineteen, Antommarchi obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine at the University of Pisa—a distinction of small significance. He afterwards became the assistant at Florence of Mascagni, one of the best-known anatomists of the day ; in that capacity he dissected bodies at the hospital of Santa Maria Novella. He did not practise upon the living, either in medicine or surgery ; he was a dissector and nothing more. It would have been difficult to find a technically qualified man more unsuited to the post of medical adviser to Napoleon at Longwood. He had not even the social qualities required, being merely an ignorant provincial from a village in a wild and remote corner of savage Corsica.

For the French priest, Fesch, again directed by Papal influence, reinforced by Madame Mère, chose another Corsican. The abbé Buonavita had spent twenty-six years in Mexico and was now over sixty-five years of age. In 1814 he had acted as the chaplain of Madame Mère at Elba, and he went with her to Paris for the Hundred Days. After Waterloo he continued in the Bonaparte service, acting as chaplain to Pauline at Rome. There he experienced an attack of apoplexy which left him with a permanent difficulty in his speech. It was hoped that if the journey was not hurried he might reach St. Helena alive.

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[1] Planat, "Rome et Sainte-Hélène," p. 9.

Realizing that Antommarchi and Buonavita were not all that could be desired, Fesch gave them as an assistant another Corsican, a young priest named Vignali, who was expected to make up for all defects. Although he was semi-illiterate, unable to read or write save with infinite labour, Vignali could at least articulate; and though he was neither a physician nor a surgeon, he had begun a course of medical study. Fesch thought so much of the attainments of this semi-savage, that he wrote to Las Cases that he intended Vignali to act as Napoleon's consulting physician. There is a grim touch in the suggestion. With Vignali as adviser, Antommarchi's qualifications as a dissector would soon come into use.

These three Corsicans satisfied the strong patriotic spirit of Letizia, and they were approved by the Church precisely because none of them had a passable knowledge of French. Napoleon would have to speak to them in Corsican Italian, his own native language, and would be encouraged to forget that he had ever been regarded as a Frenchman.

The party was completed by the inclusion of one of Madame Mère's valets, Coursot, who was to be major-domo, while Pauline contributed from her own kitchen, the cook, Chandelier. At least the family was denuding itself of its own treasures, and making sure that only staunch adherents should be admitted into Longwood.

Fesch was told to place obstacles in the way of the departure of the selected persons. He was prepared to believe there was no need for the journey. He wrote to Las Cases on the 5th December, 1818: "I do not know what method God will employ for the deliverance of the Emperor from captivity; but I am none the less convinced that it cannot be far off. I expect anything of him and have complete confidence."[1] Any excuse sufficed for delay. It was suggested that Antom-

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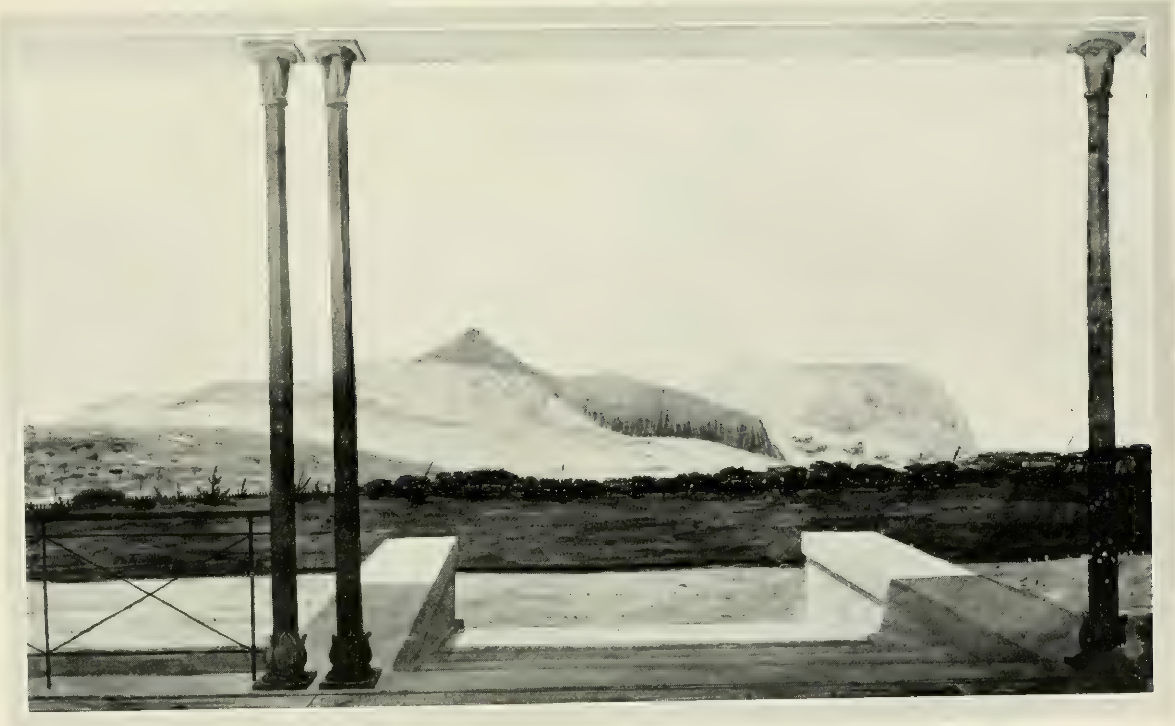
[1] "Kaiser Franz I. und die Napoleoniden," Schlitter, p. 260.



FLAGSTAFF HILL AND THE BARN, FROM THE VERANDAH OF NEW LONGWOOD

From the picture by E. E. Vidal, in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. M. A. J. Lewis

marchi, before leaving, should obtain O'Meara's opinion of Napoleon's health; when that was obtained from England it had to be submitted to a Council of five eminent practitioners at Rome; who in due course prepared a report. They were unanimous in the opinion that the symptoms mentioned by O'Meara, indicated that Napoleon was suffering from obstruction of the liver and a scorbutic condition; and they suggested various remedies. A copy of their report was given to Antommarchi, who speaks ironically of it as "the law and the prophets"; and another copy was given to the versatile Vignali.

At last all preparations had been made, the necessary vessels and ornaments for the Longwood chapel had been collected, the orthodoxy of Buonavita and Vignali thoroughly proved, and there remained no visible cause for longer delay. A grand dinner of farewell was then thought of, and the preparations took some days. The banquet was magnificent; besides the Cardinal there were present Madame Mère, Pauline, and Louis.

On the 25th February, 1819, the party made a start. Fesch wrote letters of discouragement after them. A clairvoyante had been employed to impose upon him and Madame Mère. Fesch wrote to Las Cases on the 27th February, 1819: "The little caravan for Saint Helena left Rome just after the time when we ourselves believe that they will never reach Saint Helena; because we are assured by a certain person that, three or four days before the 19th of January, the Emperor received permission to leave St. Helena, and that the English are taking him elsewhere. What shall I say about it? Everything is miraculous in that life and I am very much inclined to believe in this additional miracle. Moreover, his existence is a wonder and God may continue to make of him what He pleases." Again, to Las Cases: "Although the newspapers and the English keep pretending that he is at Saint Helena, we have ground for thinking that he is there no longer; and although we do not know where he may be, nor when he will make himself visible, we have such proofs as enable us to persist in our belief. . . . There can be no doubt that the jailor of Saint Helena compels Bertrand to write to you as if Napoleon was still in the fetters, but we have superior certitudes."[1]

Sent forth under these auspices the mission made but slow progress, especially as the aged and infirm abbé Buonavita required long rests. Twelve whole days were consumed in the journey to Bologna, and Frankfort was not reached till the 1st April. There they found Las Cases, in poor health; and they were also received by Julie, wife of Joseph, now known as the Comtesse de Survilliers. On the 19th April they arrived safely in London.

Antommarchi sought out O'Meara, who easily convinced him that Napoleon was suffering from chronic hepatitis. The Corsican endeavoured to obtain publication of the anatomical plates which had been prepared by his famous master, Mascagni, shortly before his death in 1815.

A further delay ensued. Bathurst was receiving reports from Metternich to the effect that Cardinal Fesch had solid ground for believing that Napoleon had already escaped; and Metternich also pointed out that Las Cases at Frankfort was the centre of a system of correspondence and intrigue, having for its object the recall of Sir Hudson Lowe, and rescue or removal of Napoleon from St. Helena. Bathurst took advantage of these rumours, in spite of their absurdity, to delay the travellers, while he endeavoured to ascertain what were their communications with Las Cases at Frankfort, and Holmes, Balcombe, and O'Meara in England. Bathurst would take no risks; he would not give his terrible enemy even a sporting chance. No greater compliment to the prodigious power of the portent could be given; but, although we must endeavour to realize that the world was still reeling under the giant's blows, we could wish that Lord

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[1] Planat, "Vie de," p. 357. See the letter of Pauline in the Appendix of this work.

Bathurst had been able to free himself from misgivings as to the conspiring powers of Buonavita and his companions. Not until the 9th July was a vessel provided for them, and they did not reach St. Helena till the 20th September, 1819. On the evening of that day they were at last in residence at Longwood.

Cardinal Fesch did not furnish the travellers with any letters of recommendation, nor did he write to Napoleon about them. They had to give their own accounts of themselves. Each one had to submit to the Grand Marshal of the Palace a written statement of his name, age, parents, previous employment, and present pretensions, before he was admitted into the Emperor's presence; and the further catechism each in turn had then to undergo was pointed and searching.

Buonavita was the first to be introduced. He was received graciously, but Napoleon afterwards expressed his annoyance with Cardinal Fesch for having sent him a man so old and broken down that he could be of no service to him or anybody.

As for Vignali, Napoleon discovered that he was so ignorant that he believed Alexander to have been a Roman General. He was ordered to read, and copy extracts from, "Rollin's Ancient History," to the extent of 200 pages a day; and he was peremptorily forbidden to offer medical advice to any of the Longwood household, including even the Chinese.

Antommarchi, on being introduced, found Napoleon in bed in a small dark room. "I advanced," says Antommarchi, "in a spirit of religious reverence. He observed it, and addressing me in the most gracious manner, he said, 'Advance, rascal of a Capocorsinian, approach that I may see you more distinctly, and especially may better hear you, for on this melancholy rock I have become quite deaf.'" Napoleon then remarked that he had once, as a young man, landed at Macinajo, near Morsiglia, on his way to Bastia. "'How old are you?' 'About thirty.' 'Oh! oh! You might be my son. If I had known your mother, I would have omitted Macinajo and landed at Morsiglia.' 'At Centuri.'

'Yes, at Centuri, there is no port at Morsiglia. Is your mother still alive?' 'She died when I was a child.' 'Was she pretty, attractive, charming?' 'She was a pretty woman and a good mother.' 'Very well, all the more reason I should have landed at Centuri; I should have gone to Morsiglia to pay court to a charming *Capocorsinian*, to Madame Antommarchi. How old is your father?' 'He is getting on for seventy.' 'He is a notary: does he sometimes, like his good brethren, make falsified documents, imaginary testaments?' I made no reply: he repeated the question, laughing more loudly. 'My father enjoys the public esteem and confidence of the canton.' 'In that case there is nothing more to be said.'" Later, Napoleon questioned Antommarchi as to his professional experience and knowledge, and was very dissatisfied with the answers he received.

Napoleon remarked one day to Montholon that his family had sent him savages: "It would be impossible to make a worse choice than that of the five persons they have sent me."[1] And yet, strangely enough, they had great successes to their credit at Longwood.

The influence of the priests was wholly good. They introduced into the hot Longwood atmosphere a peaceful, benevolent spirit. They assisted in the reconciliation of feuds both inside and outside Longwood, and urged the virtue of patience, and of the habit of making the best of things. A healthier feeling thus found its way into the morbid circle, and the relations of the French with Sir Hudson Lowe lost much of their asperity. Napoleon still called him names, but that was now little more than a pastime. Balmain reported to his Government that it looked as if there was an end to the intrigues and storms of the past.[2]

Buonavita officiated at mass at Longwood on Sundays, while Vignali was performing the same duty at Bertrand's

[1] "Lettres du comte et de la comtesse de Montholon," p. 61.

[2] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 749.

house. An altar was erected for each occasion, and then removed. At Longwood House the dining-room was used for the purpose. Cardinal Fesch had sent out handsome vessels and ornaments, crosses and chalices of gold adorned with gems, vases and candelabras of silver-gilt, and vestments of silk and lace.

The priests had exercised a beneficial influence on Longwood manners even before their arrival, for it was to propitiate the daily expected officials of their religion that Noverraz, and Josephine, formerly Madame de Montholon's maid, went through the ceremony of marriage, in the Montholon drawing-room, on the 11th July, 1819. The English chaplain, Vernon, officiated and he gave such satisfaction that Archambaud soon afterwards conducted the Bertrands' servant, Mary, to the altar, and St. Denis was married to Miss Mary Hall, the English governess to the Bertrands' children. These marriages obtained the blessing of the Catholic Church, but the priests failed to induce Marchand to make Esther Vesey an honest woman.

It is hard to say what was the state of Napoleon's health at this time. Antommarchi examined him on the 23rd September. In his book "Les derniers moments de Napoléon," published in 1825, he gives an account of the result, but unfortunately that work is tainted with the Longwood mendacity.[1] He says: "I went to see the Emperor. He was resting upon a camp bed, the room was lit up. I could make observation upon the progress of the disease. There was some hardness of hearing, the face was earthy, the eyes discoloured, the conjunctivæ red mingled with yellow, the whole body of an excessive corpulence, and the skin very pale. I examined the tongue, it was covered with a light whitish coating; there was violent, prolonged sneezing, varied with a dry cough ending in a viscous expectoration which varied each instant. The nostrils were choked and congested; the secretion of saliva was at times abundant, and the lower abdomen was a little hard to the touch. The pulse, small but regular, gave about sixty beats to a minute. These symptoms appeared to me to be disquieting. I examined more closely and discovered that that part of the left lobe of the liver which touches the epigastric region seemed to be hardened, and extremely painful on pressure. The gall-bladder was full, resisting, protruded beyond the right hypochondrium, near the cartilage of the third false rib. Vague sensations of discomfort were experienced in the costal and lumbar regions on the right side; a pain somewhat sharp was fixed about the breast, and Napoleon experienced a feeling of extreme discomfort in the right shoulder. His respiration became more difficult when a perpendicular pressure was applied to the apex of the heart. He complained also of a pain of varying intensity which for long had affected the right hypochondrium. It was internal; he endeavoured to indicate with precision the position and said it was at a depth of two inches. He had been for some days without appetite. He had nausea, and vomiting. He brought up quantities of matter, sometimes acrid, sometimes bilious. Abundant sweatings occurred every day."

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[1] Gonnard, "Les Origines de la légende Napoléonienne," says it should be ignored completely, regarded as "non avenu."

Napoleon told Antommarchi that he took his sleep or his meals according to the caprice of the moment. His sleep was tranquil and sweet as a rule, but for short periods. When he awoke he got up, called for a light, walked up and down; he would send for an attendant, to whom he would talk, or dictate. At dawn he would go into the garden for a few minutes, then return and go to bed again. Sometimes in the night he would move from the bed in the bedroom to the other, which was always ready, in the study. His *déjeuner* he took often in the hot bath, often in the garden. It consisted of soup, two courses of meat, one of vegetable, and a salad, with half a bottle of claret diluted with water; sometimes, when he felt fatigued, champagne for the claret.

Asked what were the vegetables in use, Napoleon replied, potatoes, lentils, peas, white haricots, cauliflowers. The meat would be cutlets, or a leg of mutton. He took the brown well-done portions. He ate fast, and masticated little. He told Antommarchi that he preferred plain food, but other witnesses assert that where there was a choice he indulged freely in the richest dishes, eating much meat with very little vegetable, and following with rich pastry, of which he was very fond.

Between the 11th October, 1817, and the 4th October, 1820, a space of three years, the only persons who spoke to Napoleon outside his Longwood society were—the Balcombe family on taking their leave, in March, 1818, surgeon Stokoe in January, 1819, and Mr. Ricketts in April, 1819. Mrs. Abell (then Miss Betsy Balcombe) says that Napoleon looked very ill ; Stokoe was taken in by an elaborate fraud ; Ricketts drew up a report in which he said he could detect in Napoleon's appearance no sign of ill-health. Mrs. Abell wrote many years later ; the letter of Ricketts is contemporary.

Captain Nicholls, who was orderly from September, 1818, to February, 1820, saw Napoleon at varying distances. He says on the 10th October, 1818 :[1] "I was about seventy paces distant and saw him through a telescope. His countenance appeared excessively cadaverous and ghastly. I, however, understand that it is his general appearance." On the 15th, "I saw him from Deadwood Barracks through a telescope, he appeared very pale. Sergeant Lacey was very near him, and told me the General came out of his house whistling and seemed in good spirits." On the 4th November he was "looking as well as usual." On the 7th, "His countenance was very ghastly." On the 19th, "He was reported to me as looking extremely well and in high spirits." On the 30th, Sergeant David had been told, "that Napoleon had been sick yesterday and vomiting, that he was then going to take a warm bath. Napoleon did not appear sick to the sergeant."

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[1] Nicholls' Journal, B.M., 20210.

6th January, 1819, "Mr. Verling asked Marchand how Napoleon was to-day; he answered that the General was pretty well." Against this Montholon, on the 29th January, said that Napoleon was very unwell, and in low spirits, and he and Bertrand always asserted he was ill. On the 11th March, Nicholls reports, "He looked in good health." On the 2nd July, "Dr. Verling thought Napoleon walked quite strong." On the 21st, "Napoleon walked firm and appeared in good health." On the 30th July, "Napoleon walked further to-day than I have ever seen him before. He went down to the Company's farm, accompanied by Ct. Montholon. People were looking at him from all directions with spy-glasses from camp, etc., etc."

When, on the return of Stokoe from England, a last effort was made to obtain his services by the pretence that Napoleon had been attacked by syncope again, Nicholls writes on the 22nd August that he saw Napoleon walking in the garden, and that "ten minutes afterwards Count Montholon came to my quarters to say that he was ill in bed, and required the assistance of Mr. Stokoe the doctor." On the 15th September Nicholls saw Napoleon "walking in his billiard-room with another person. I knew the General's countenance and also knew him by his broad and thick shoulders. Bertrand had about two hours before told me that Napoleon was sick and had been so for two days back, so much so that he could not deliver a message to him."

Major Harrison wrote to a friend on the 1st December, 1819: "I saw him about a fortnight ago walking round the new house; I was not very close to him, but he appeared to walk as well as ever." On January 18th, 1820, he notes: "He appears to be fully as active and to walk as well as when I first saw him."[1] On the other hand, Verling told Balmain that having seen Napoleon only at a distance he could not pronounce upon his health; that O'Meara's accounts were doubtless exaggerated, but that from Napoleon's heavy and

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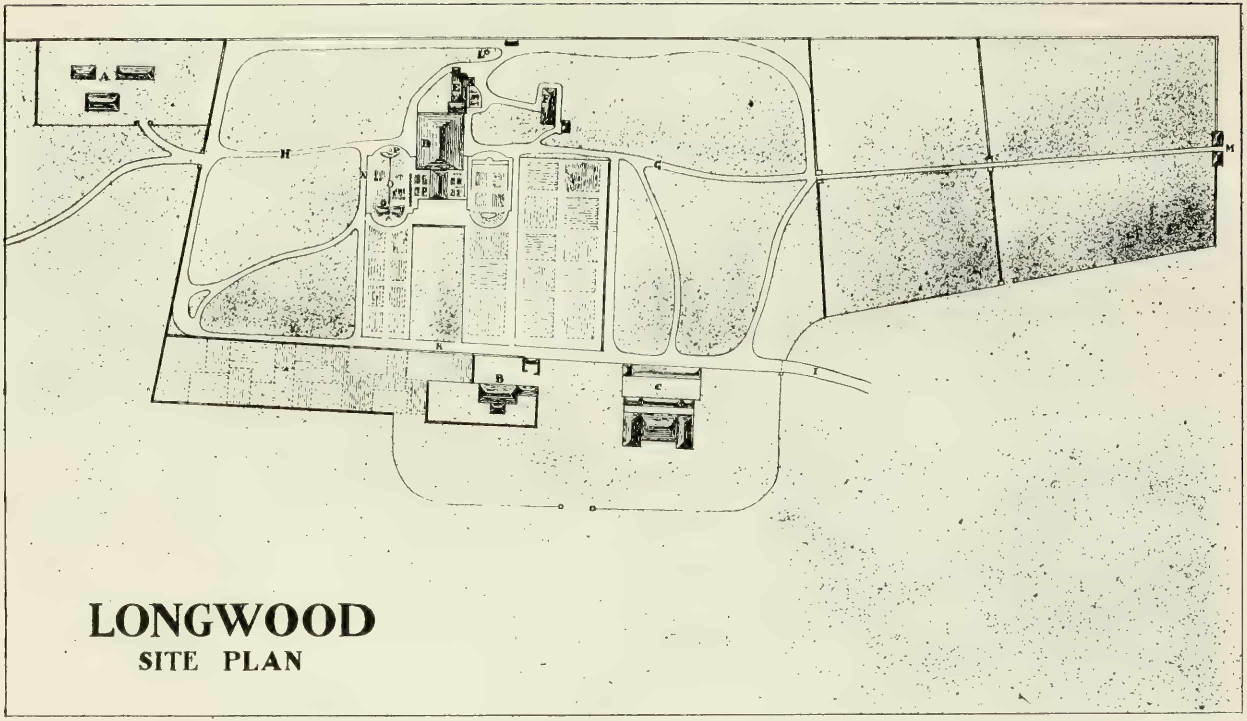
[1] "Cornhill Magazine," February, 1901, p. 160.



LONGWOOD
SITE PLAN

A Stables
B Bertrand's house
C New Longwood
D Longwood House
E Montholon's house
F Orderly Officer's house
G Road to Guard-house
H Road to the wood
I Road to Deadwood
K Garden walk
M Guard-house

sunk eyes, his yellow, leaden-hued complexion, and other significant indications, one would suppose he was suffering from a chronic malady.[1]

From this evidence it appears that Napoleon's complexion was colourless—which it always had been—that he "walked stout," that sometimes he seemed to be in good spirits, whistling or singing, and that a system of fraud, with false assertions of ill-health, had been clearly exposed. We are left to conjecture that the complaints of pain in the side must have rested on some basis, and that as he was leading an unhealthy, sedentary life, he was probably in a flabby condition. He may have been suffering from the ulcer in the alimentary canal that Dr. Arnold Chaplin suggests;[2] he may have had the undulant fever diagnosed by Professor Keith[3]—it is quite probable that in his unhealthy state he would have a return of the Corsican ailment contracted in his youth; but it is necessary to repeat that the symptoms have been dishonestly exaggerated, and it is impossible to ascertain exactly what were the really existing evidences of ill-health.

To induce Napoleon to leave his rooms, Antommarchi encouraged the idea of making improvements in the garden. Already, on the 19th July, workmen had been sent by Sir Hudson Lowe, at the request of Napoleon, to build a sod wall on the east, to keep the wind off the angle of the library. The wall was soon finished, and then, in accordance with Napoleon's orders, Montholon, on the 27th, made a plan for enlarging the garden.[4] Nothing further was done at the time, but Antommarchi, on his arrival, succeeded in inducing Napoleon to return to the idea. From the 3rd October onwards Napoleon walked every day in the garden and grounds, superintending enlargements, and his health quickly improved.

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[1] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 684.

[2] "The Illness and Death of Napoleon Bonaparte," by Arnold Chaplin, M.D., F.R.C.P.

[3] Address delivered before the Hunterian Society, on the 8th January, 1913, by Arthur Keith, M.D.

[4] Nicholls' Journal, 19th and 27th July, 1818.

One day, the 31st October, 1819, Napoleon, who was not feeling well, proceeded, in Antommarchi's presence, to cure himself in his own way, by scratching "with a kind of voluptuousness" some old scars in his left thigh, until the blood flowed. They were the marks of the bayonet wound he received from an English soldier at the attack on Fort Mulgrave, at the siege of Toulon, in 1794. Napoleon had often opened the wound and believed that he thereby obtained benefit.

At Montholon's request Sir Hudson Lowe had a glass door made, to enable Napoleon to go out from what had been his sitting-room, but was now used as his bedroom, to the garden in the front. Lowe also sent up garden tables and trellis work.

On the 16th November Napoleon opened a discussion with Antommarchi as to the inheritance of disease, and particularly of cancer, and related the story of his father's death of a cancer at the pyloric end of the stomach. Antommarchi declared that diseases were not inherited, though perhaps a slight tendency to contract a disease might pass from father to son. Napoleon was not reassured or satisfied. Next day he sent for Mascagni's anatomy plates and had a long discussion with Antommarchi about them. From this period Napoleon believed that he was suffering from, or at least in danger of, cancer of the stomach. Once this idea had taken hold of him it produced a complete change of outlook and of habits. He was now in actual fear of the fatal illness which he had so loudly and frequently foretold, with the substantial difference that he believed it would be in the stomach, inherited from his father, and not, as he had been accustomed to assert, in the liver, produced by the climate. The liver and St. Helena were still accused, but it was destiny in which Napoleon believed. Against inexorable fate he took up arms. He had been told by O'Meara, and was convinced, that he could cure the liver by exercise; therefore he stayed indoors. But now that he believed himself attacked by Fate, whose decrees are unchangeable, he struggled. Encouraged by Antommarchi he joined actively in the gardening. He hoped to conquer inheritance by the use of the spade and was now to be seen digging in the garden with energy.

On the first day of digging, Antommarchi, when he joined Napoleon, who was hard at work, was greeted with, "Well, doctor, are you satisfied with your patient?" Spade in hand the Emperor pointed to what he had done, "That is worth more than your pills, rascal of a doctor, you shall drug me no more." He went on digging vigorously, but soon stopped, saying, "The work is too hard, I can do no more. My hands, like my bodily strength, feel the exertion. I shall do better next time," and he threw down the spade. "You are laughing at my beautiful hands, I know. Wait a little: I have always been able to make my body do my wishes; I shall yet train it to this exercise."

He did improve in the exercise, lifting sods, filling the wheelbarrow with earth, and, as matters progressed, sowing seed, and watering the plants. He insisted that the entire household should dig, Bertrand, Montholon, the aged Buonavita, Antommarchi, the valets and cooks, the Chinese, and the maids. He did his best to induce Madame Bertrand to join in, pleaded, cajoled, flattered, promised her a return to perfect health, but Madame—alone of them all—ventured to decline.

This busy company, hard at work with their coats off, made great changes in the gardens around the house. Napoleon's plan was to surround the house on the east and west, with a large sod wall about twelve feet high, which would enclose the small gardens outside the library and bedroom. Within the space on the right, outside the library, he planted twenty-four trees, willows and oaks of some size, in full leaf. They were carried to Longwood by the soldiers. Only one of them died. On the bedroom side he planted roses on steps cut in the sod walls. The Bertrand children, under Napoleon's immediate direction, brought cans of water to be poured by the Emperor on the roses, as soon as they were planted. Napoleon worked in his dressing-gown, with a large round straw hat on his head, and his feet in red morocco slippers. He had a large bell fixed outside the house; he rang it as early as six in the morning, to muster the household for garden work.[1] Captain Lutyens, on succeeding Nicholls as orderly, reported to the Governor one day: "I saw General Bonaparte and Count Montholon both hard at work at six o'clock this morning, the General lifting sods, and the Count fixing them with a mallet." Another day Napoleon was out early marking the places where more peach trees were to be planted; "it was in the garden his bedchamber opens into; he is in want of about fifty more peach trees."[2]

He even played with water like a child. One day he was seen "amusing himself with the pipe of the fire-engine, spouting water on the trees and flowers in his favourite garden," writes Lutyens. Again, "I saw General Bonaparte this morning; he was turning the cock of a cistern to allow the water to run over the flowers in one of his little gardens."

He had several tanks made. One of them, of a semicircular form, was stone. It still exists, the stone having been repaired and cemented. Napoleon bathed in its cold water one day, but did not repeat the experiment. Another tank was made by means of a large tub twelve feet wide, brought up from Jamestown by Gordon, the one-eyed cooper. Napoleon was so pleased with the tub that he gave Gordon a glass of wine with his own hand. The tub was painted, and goldfish put in, but the paint killed many of them and it had to be scraped off. In the meantime the survivors were put into small unpainted tubs. "General Bonaparte was in his garden early this morning looking at his fish, which are now in small tubs: he was dressed in a

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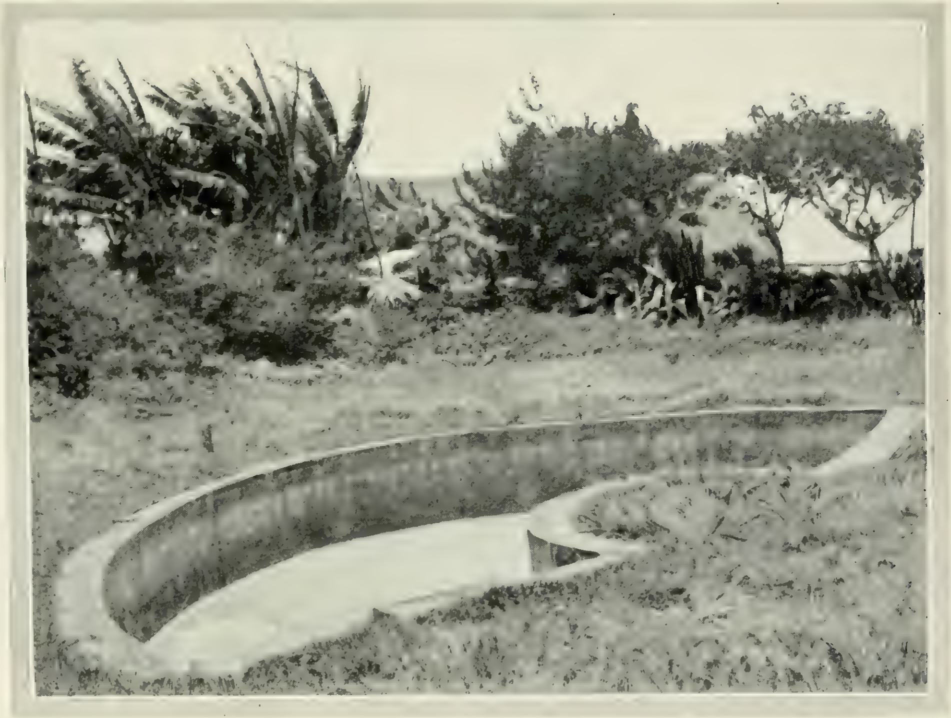
[1] B.M., 20130, p. 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20129, p. 183.



ONE OF THE PONDS MADE BY NAPOLEON IN HIS GARDENS

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

long white dressing-gown and a silk handkerchief on his head." But still the fish did not thrive, and Montholon was told to ask Lutyens for cuttings of the weeping willow " to plant round the fish-tub to shade it from the sun, that the fish may not be boiled."[1] Napoleon also had a pen of pet sheep, with bells round their necks; he gave them food himself.[2]

In the end Napoleon had well-planted and well-watered gardens on three sides of the house. In front there was a lawn. On the east there was a small flower garden outside the library, flanked by a pergola; and beyond, enclosed within sod walls planted with roses, were three tanks fed by a constant stream, over which there was a rustic bridge. In the semicircular tank, on a small island, there was an aviary inhabited by a few island doves. In the centre tank, made with the wooden tub, there was a small jet for a fountain. Beyond, to the north, there was a cell cut, under a high bank, into steps, on which were roses. "The sides of the cell were of turf, and the top of wood, painted after the Chinese fashion. Here on a grassy seat, the Emperor would sit for hours together, alone, his eyes fixed on the little stream rippling at his feet."[3] To the east, outside this area, there was a Chinese summer-house. On the west there was another sod wall, which enclosed the flower garden and the peach trees outside Napoleon's rooms. Here also there were small tanks of water with goldfish. Beyond these ornamental grounds there were kitchen gardens of ample size. Seeds had been sent for from Rio de Janeiro, and growing plants from Calcutta.[4] Eleven Chinese were employed regularly in the gardens.[5] Even Montholon had flower beds outside his windows.

The total area cultivated cannot have been less than three acres. The labour and outlay for these elaborate grounds, with pergola, ornamental summer-house, peach and oak trees, aviary, tanks, fountains, and running water, were gladly provided by Sir Hudson Lowe. There was no attempt at anything of the kind anywhere else on the island. Napoleon had, in fact, a small imitation of the famous Malmaison Gardens, so loved by Josephine, at Longwood, St. Helena.

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[1] B.M., 20129, pp. 144, 191, Lutyens to Gorrequer.

[2] Nicholls' Diary. Balmain in "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 719.

[3] "Lancashire Fusiliers' Annual," 1891, Diary of Captain Oakley.

[4] B.M., 20233, pp. 11, 71.

[5] *Ibid.*, 20123, p. 248, Report of Captain Blakeney, 2nd August, 1818.

Within these pleasant spaces Napoleon was completely protected from outside observation, and had ample shade from sun and shelter from wind. He sat much out of doors, and took some of his meals under the trees. It was what he had always desired, and might have had at any time. To the new-comers belongs the credit. Napoleon's Diogenes sulkiness was broken by the loss of hope, the placid peacemaking influence of the venerable Buonavita, and the warnings of Antommarchi. The dread family skeleton in the background awoke the determination to live and to make the best of what life might still provide.

On the 9th April, 1820, Lutyens reported to Gorrequer: "General Bonaparte wishes to have some seeds or plants of melon, spinnage, sorrel, asparagrass, sallad, artichokes, cucumber, raddishes, and endives. Count Montholon thought Mr. Barker had the above seeds. I mentioned that I would send to Plantation House, for I was sure Mr. B. had not."[1]

The seeds were duly provided and Napoleon sowed many of them himself, while Antommarchi or Montholon made the necessary furrow, and another assistant followed and covered in the earth. Napoleon was so much interested in the properties of seeds, the marvels of germination and growth, that he discoursed at some length on these inexplicable manifestations of life, and declared that they proved the existence of a Supreme Being. He said to Antommarchi: "'You do not believe it, you doctors are above such weakness. Tell me, you who know so well the human body, who have probed into all its ramifications, have you ever come across the soul under your scalpel? Where is it? In which organ?' 'I hesitated to respond,' says Antommarchi. 'Come now, frankly, there is not a doctor who believes in God, is not that so?' 'No, Sire, they are ensnared by the demonstration, they accept the dictum of the mathematicians.' 'Eh, but the latter are generally religious. Your reply, however, recalls to me a curious remark. I was talking to L——, I was congratulating him upon a book he had just published and I asked him how it was that the name of God, which was so incessantly repeated in the writings of Lagrange, did not appear even once in his work. The reason,' he replied, 'is that I had not had occasion to make use of that hypothesis.'"

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[1] B.M., 20129, p. 336.

Napoleon was so pleased with his new gardens that he was jealous of any intrusion upon them. One day he perceived a goat and two kids in the outer garden, and learning that they belonged to Madame Bertrand, who was much out of favour, he sent for his gun and shot the goat. To save the kids Madame presented them to Mrs. Kingsmill, the wife of Lieut. Kingsmill, of the 66th, the officer in charge at Longwood Guard. A few days later Napoleon shot three fowls that had trespassed; two of them belonged to Noverraz, who was so much annoyed that he asked the Governor to be allowed to leave the Emperor's service.[1] Still the slaughter went on, a rabbit falling to Napoleon's gun on the 12th February, 1820. He sent for "young goats, for game, and intends to amuse himself in shooting at them."[2] He shot one of the goats on the 14th, and another on the 20th. As no more game was forthcoming bottles were now fired at, and bullets used. The lead was bought in Jamestown. The Company's gardener, mistrusting this new enterprise, declined to make the bullets; they were fashioned by the Longwood domestics under Napoleon's direction. One day, the 16th April, two bullocks strayed from the Company's garden into Napoleon's garden.

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[1] B.M., 20129, p. 140.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73, Nicholls to Gorrequer.

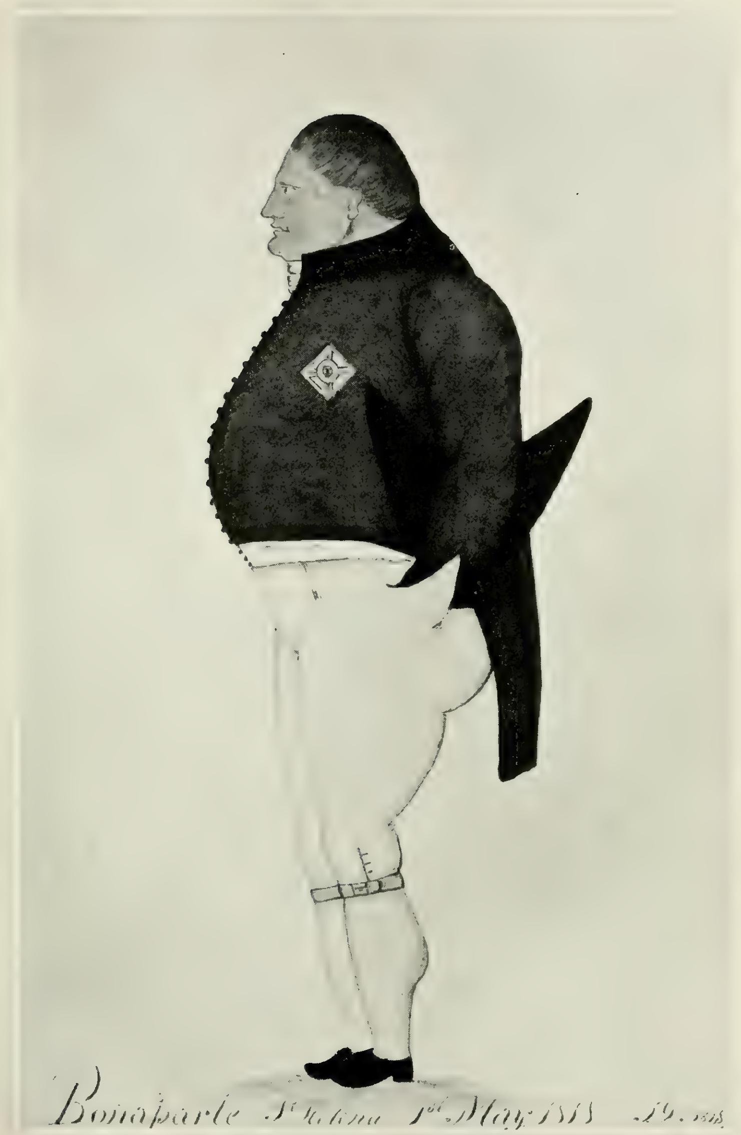
The gate had been left open. Napoleon happened to be on the look out for game worthy of the bullets which the guardian of the bullocks had refused to make. With the cry of "Montholon! bullocks!" he emerged, gun in hand, stalked his quarry, and when near enough he fired, and had the satisfaction of seeing the nearest bullock fall dead; the other began to make off, and the hurried shot sent after it found only the edge of the target.

Montchenu told the Governor that he had reason to believe that Napoleon, on seeing the bullocks grazing near the garden, had caused the gate to be opened, and sent for his gun in preparation; and he thought the object was to deprive the Governor of meat for his own table. Montchenu also pointed out that a stray shot with ball might kill some person. Lowe replied: "I do not like to anticipate cases which have not occurred," but he did write to England for the opinion of the law officers of the Crown as to the proper course to take, in case of such a calamity.

Balmain remarked to Lowe that he thought it a cruel kind of diversion to kill animals in this way,[1] but that would not be the Corsican, or the Italian, feeling. Pope Pius IX, another Italian prisoner, amused himself in the confined space of the Vatican by shooting sparrows. Napoleon had a carbine in his study, at Malmaison, and had been in the habit of firing from inside the room at any birds which might come within range, including even some of Josephine's pets. Chaptal, indeed, declares that Napoleon was "possessed by the malign genius of destruction." He had given some evidence of it in his career, in great matters and in small.

Balmain found that his attitude towards Sir Hudson Lowe was disapproved by his Government; this discovery, reinforced by the news of the protocol put forward by Russia at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, caused a change in his conduct towards the Governor. Lowe was always prepared to assist in the establishment of friendly relations, no matter

[1] B.M., 20129, p. 204.


Bonaparte St Helena 1st May 1818 J.D. 1818

NAPOLEON IN 1818

After a water-colour by J. D.

what differences might have existed, and a cordial understanding was established. Balmain was able to report to his Government, on the 18th June, 1819: "I experience a veritable satisfaction in being able to announce to Your Majesty that my personal relations with the English authorities are peaceful and amicable; that I go to Plantation House continually; that I am received there with open arms, that the dinners, balls, and receptions are never ending there, since the arrival of the last news from Europe, and that all that helps to dissipate the ennui of my exile; but I regret, at the same time, to be obliged to declare that as I no longer meet either Bertrand or Montholon I am entirely ignorant of what is going on at Longwood."[1]

While thus exhibiting the correctness of his conduct, Balmain asked to be allowed to leave St. Helena, the three years for which he had originally been appointed having run out. Some months later he began to pay his court to Miss Johnson, Lady Lowe's elder daughter. On the 7th March, 1820, he received permission to leave St. Helena. On the 26th April he was married to Miss Johnson at Plantation House. On the 3rd May Count and Countess Balmain left St. Helena *en route* for St. Petersburg.[2]

The Marquis de Montchenu was the only Foreign Commissioner left on the island. Napoleon immediately began to make overtures to him. He sent Montholon with an expression of his condolence at the news which had been received, of the assassination of the Duc de Berri. Then he arranged for a friendly discussion between Montholon and Montchenu, which took place at dinner in the Marquis's house. Montholon observed that the Emperor was possessed of great wealth: that he had promised to leave his faithful followers, in his will, large sums. He also remarked that on the death of Louis XVIII the crown of France would go either to the Duc d'Orleans or to the son of Napoleon. The Marquis was thus being advised to make friends with the Imperialists, whose chief had large sums of money to bestow. This was followed by remarks, about party colours, which the French Commissioner reported fully to Sir Hudson Lowe. He told Lowe that they had " an animated discussion on the subject of the difference between the 'couleurs blancs et bleus,' which he supposed the English officer who was present must have remarked, respecting the fidelity with which each party would adhere to its colour; that Count Montholon had observed, 'ceux qui sont blancs resteront toujours blancs, et ceux qui sont bleus resteront toujours bleus'—that there were certain individuals who although they were 'blancs' in their hearts, were incapable of betraying the cause of the 'bleus' when they were serving under them; that General Bonaparte acknowledged this character particularly, and did it justice on the part of two persons who had been Ministers in France—Messrs. Vaublanc and the Duc de Feltre (Clarke)—that although he knew these persons were 'blancs dans le cœur' he felt perfectly secure of their fidelity, whilst serving under him." Having made these remarks to give point to what was to follow, Montholon "spoke a good deal of the improvements which they had been making in the garden at Longwood, of their success in raising vegetables—that some succeeded, others did not; that they had been endeavouring to raise pease, lettuce, endive, but they had failed; what succeeded better than anything else was 'des haricots,' that they had 'des haricots verts, et des haricots blancs'—both of excellent quality; that, if the Marquis would permit it, he, Count Montholon, would send some to him; and asked him which he would prefer. The Marquis said it was not for the person who received the present to make the choice. Count Montholon still pressed him, however, to say which he would like, when the Marquis answered, he might send him a little of both."

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[1] "Revue Bleu," p. 745.

[2] B.M., 20129, p. 378.

Lowe's comment was: "Whether the 'haricots blancs' and 'haricots verts' bear any reference to the 'drapeau blanc' of the Bourbons, and the 'habit vert' of General Bonaparte himself, and the livery of his servants at Longwood, I am unable to say; but the Marquis de Montchenu, it appears to me, would have acted with more propriety if he had declined receiving either, or limited himself to a demand for the white alone. He is not aware how much the question that was put by Count Montholon to Count Balmain may be made to apply to his proceeding on this occasion."

It would seem that an overture of a similar nature, of which we have no record, had been made to Balmain. The intention evidently was to suggest that Montchenu, though he belonged to the "whites," might, like Clarke and others, work for the other colour, that is, for the green of Napoleon. He might act for the "green" while still remaining at heart a "white," he might accept a green haricot to prove his willingness to be on good terms with Napoleon, or he might refuse it and adhere to the Bourbon white: which did he prefer? Montholon pressed the enquiry. Montchenu, perceiving the nature of the question, and not wishing to reject the proffered advances, accepted both colours. As this meant that though at heart a white he might be able to assist the green, Sir Hudson Lowe was right in his comment that the representative of the Bourbons should either have declined both, or have adhered to the Bourbon colour.

After the departure of Balmain Napoleon ventured to ride abroad. His last outing on horseback had been on the 1st June, 1816. On the 17th of that month the Foreign Commissioners arrived; their presence contributed towards his abandonment of the exercise. When Sturmer left in July, 1818, and Balmain went for a change to Rio, Napoleon walked in the garden for the first time for several months. The Russian having now finally departed he ordered his horse.

Napoleon rode from 6 to 8 a.m. on the 26th May, 1820, and subsequent days. The limits had been enlarged at the end of the previous year, on the 31st December, 1819. Montholon found when he rode round them on the 3rd January, 1820, in the company of Gorrequer and Nicholls, that they gave a ride of 2½ hours.

Napoleon was in his garden one day, dressed in his nankeen jacket and dark breeches, a large straw hat on his head, when the whim seized him to take an immediate ride. Without changing his costume he went out, followed by Archambaud, for a short gallop in the Deadwood direction, stopping occasionally to look through his glass. The unusual dress aroused much discussion, and some anxiety. Some deep design was imagined. On learning that he had mystified his guardians Napoleon played a trick upon them. He sent out Vignali dressed to resemble the previous strange apparition, riding the Emperor's horse, followed by his groom, carrying his spy-glass. They were told to go fast so as to escape detection, and cause apprehension. They acted their part to perfection, finishing their ride with a gallop along the race-course in full view, and then disappearing in the wood. Some officers of the 20th, in camp at Deadwood, instantly reported the occurrence, which they thought looked much like an attempt to escape. Vignali was, as had been hoped, taken for Napoleon in disguise. The priest and groom dismounted in the wood and endeavoured to regain Longwood unobserved. If they had succeeded, Napoleon being invisible, having remained indoors all day, a serious situation might have developed, with attempts to force an entrance into the hidden quarters. However, Lutyens, the orderly officer, and Sowerby the gardener, wide-eyed with alarm, were keeping a vigilant look out. They discovered the gallopers in the wood. "I then," says Lutyens, "showed myself at a little distance, and returned to my room before the priest could get to his: he came up the garden walk facing the guard house, and sent young Bertrand to look if he could see me. When the priest got clear of the corner of the sod wall, which he had been waiting behind, I left my room on purpose that he should see that I knew him. He looked very foolish," adds the triumphant exposer of the fraud.

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAST ILLNESS

THE exercise in the garden produced a marked improvement in Napoleon's physical condition, and the new interests he obtained acted favourably on the moral. Progress was steady and continuous for some months, but perhaps the rides on horseback in May, 1820, were a rather severe tax on the corporeal powers after four years of total inaction. He would ride at a gallop round the Longwood domain, and although the exercise sometimes gave him a hearty appetite, on other occasions he would return over-fatigued. In June Montholon was writing to his wife that they were all quite well at Longwood, "except the Emperor, who has great difficulty in recovering. He has waited too long to take the remedies. However, they have had a very good effect."[1]

On the 7th July Napoleon was ailing again, and he remained far from well until the end of the month. Antommarchi wrote on the 18th a letter to Colonna d'Istria, the chamberlain of Madame Mère at Rome, giving a very doleful account of his patient:

"There has been a continual alternation between well and ill, and I must admit to you that now I despair of success. The influence of the climate, the direct cause of the chronic hepatitis, is too hostile to the constitution of the illustrious patient and counteracts too much the action of my remedies.

"The Emperor has had lately a very grave relapse, with strong fever and acute and deep pain in the liver: and a sharp pulsating pain in the articulation of the leg with the right foot. There is an erysipelitic inflammation which extends from the sole of the foot over the lower third part of the leg. These misfortunes, I do not hesitate to say, are due to the disorder of the digestive canal and to the changes produced in the functions of the biliary organ. Still, the condition of the patient does not contain any imminent danger, but it forbids all hope of cure in a climate situated in the tropics. Little by little the morbid processes spread and increase, and I fear that my efforts and my prayers will be as cruelly disappointed as your hopes."

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[1] "Lettres," 6th June, 1820, p. 47.

This letter was, it may be presumed, written at the order of Napoleon, and in the hope that it would make an impression on Sir Hudson Lowe, who, as was known, would have to read it before sending it on. Antommarchi therefore insists that Napoleon's disease was a chronic hepatitis caused entirely by the climate. But at the same time he had the professional sincerity to observe that there was also a "disorder of the digestive canal." This is the first suggestion that there may have been disease in that quarter.

On the 19th July Antommarchi reports, in addition to the above symptoms, frequent and dry cough, headache, shiverings, nausea, and vomiting. Gradually improvement was made, and by the end of the month Napoleon was able to return to his exercise in the garden and on horseback. In August he took frequent rides with Bertrand or Montholon, and was sometimes joined by Madame Bertrand.

Napoleon's carriage had long been in an unusable condition, and proposals to have it replaced or repaired had been made more than two years back. Lowe wrote to Bathurst, on the 28th October, 1818, proposing that "a carriage of the barouche kind" should be sent out from England, with harness for six horses, "as no four-wheeled carriage whatever can be drawn up the hills on this island with a less number of animals." He remarked that the Wilks carriage was in "a complete state of degradation."[1] Nicholls was ordered to send in a report. He wrote to Gorrequer on the 6th November, 1818, that Napoleon's "stud is very indifferent, being mostly composed of old and worn-out horses, with the exception of a very few, and the only pony he has been accustomed to ride is at present lame; his carriage is in a wretched state still, and the harness is not good." When Nicholls went to Bertrand with suggestions for the carriage, he got the surly reply, "Let the carriage alone."[2] Nothing could be done to it without Napoleon's consent.

In November, 1819, Lowe wrote to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape, asking him to send out four good saddle horses, one of them for the use of a lady. The difficulty with regard to the carriage was surmounted by sending up to Longwood, on the 15th August, 1820, Sir Thomas Reade's phaeton, which had seating for two. Napoleon at once made use of it, going out for a drive. Montholon was his companion, and four horses were used, that number being sufficient for excursions on the Longwood plateau, though six were desirable for the steep road from Jamestown.[3] Napoleon made much use of Reade's phaeton, going out in it whenever possible at least once a day, often twice.

But his health remained unsatisfactory. Antommarchi noticed that "it was especially in the moral condition that the effect was marked; Napoleon now spoke of nothing but the events of his childhood, his early friends and his relations." He talked about his wet-nurse, Camilla Illari, and his foster-brother Ignazio; the other nurse and family factotum, Mammuccia Caterina; his grandmother; how he and Pauline stole figs; what a whipping his mother gave him; how he became enamoured of Giacommetta and was chaffed about it; and he was never tired of expatiating on the virtues of his mother, and of recalling, to his Corsican compatriot, the delights and beauties of his native land.

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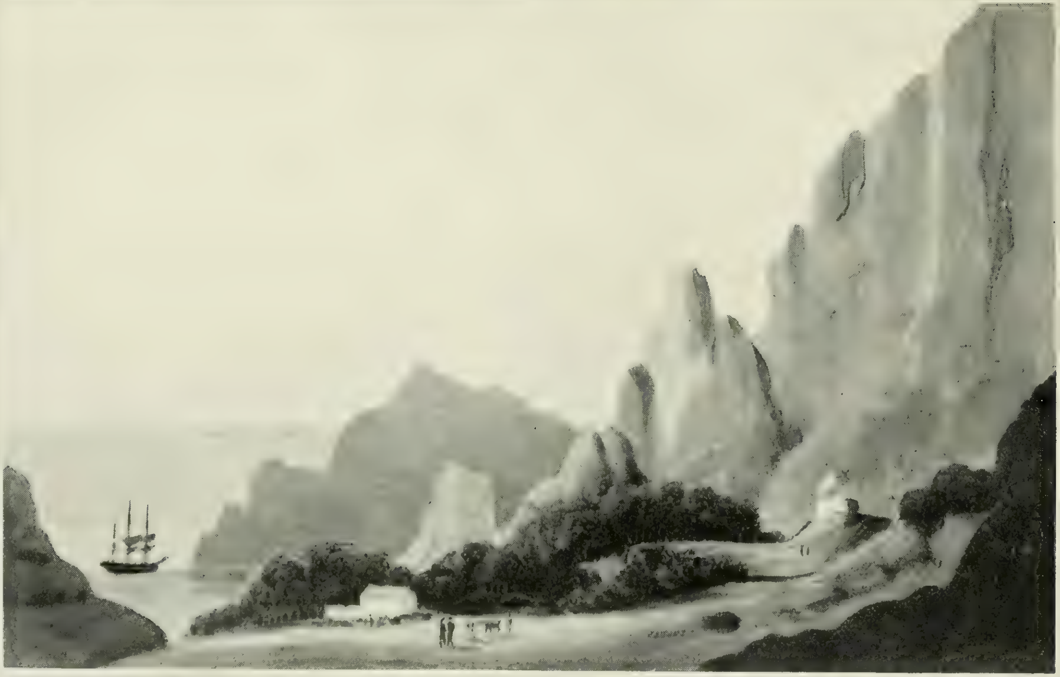
[1] B.M., 20124, p. 194.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20124, pp. 229, 235.
[3] *Ibid.*, 20130, pp. 363, 373.

While in this state of depression Napoleon dictated to Bertrand a letter, dated the 2nd September, 1820, for Lord Liverpool, which, together with the usual denunciation of his ill-treatment, contained the first note of appeal. Bertrand wrote that the Emperor had been suffering from chronic hepatitis since October, 1817, that no remedies could combat the malignity of the climate of St. Helena, and that he demanded to be sent to Europe as he required the use of mineral waters, being exhausted by five years of residence in that frightful climate.

Pending a reply Napoleon set to with a will at the exercise which he believed alone could cure him. On the 18th September, 1820, he rode, for the first time for four years, beyond the precincts of Longwood and round the limits, being out for 2½ hours. He was much fatigued by this severe exertion, and confined himself to drives in the phaeton on the three successive days. Then on the 22nd he rode in the morning and drove in the afternoon, and continued that course, although he was sometimes obliged to take to his bed from exhaustion, on returning from the outing in the phaeton. He was fighting for life with headlong desperation.

On the 4th October he made his last grand sortie. The leading inhabitant of St. Helena was Sir William Doveton, who lived at a spot known as Mount Pleasant, in Sandy Bay, a pretty estate, about five miles by a hilly road from Longwood. Napoleon started early to ride to Doveton's "in imperial state," says Major Harrison, who was aroused between 7 and 8 in the morning to see the cavalcade pass Hutt's Gate. The Emperor was accompanied by Bertrand and Montholon and four mounted servants, two of them with panniers containing a cold luncheon.

Doveton had received no warning of the intended visit, when Montholon rode in advance of the rest of the party to ask his hospitality. Sir William was delighted that his house was to be so honoured. Napoleon was evidently fatigued on arrival and had to be assisted to the sofa in the parlour.



MOUNT PLEASANT, SIR WILLIAM DOVETON'S HOUSE AT SANDY BAY

From a picture by Wathen

Doveton's daughter, Mrs. Greentree, was called, and Napoleon gave her a share of the sofa. Her two little girls received pieces of liquorice, which Napoleon always carried about with him for his own use.

Doveton offered Napoleon breakfast in the dining-room; he took the Emperor and Bertrand into the room and showed them on the table a pat[1] of fresh butter which was at their disposal, but though fresh butter was a luxury to the inhabitants of the island, it was regularly supplied to the Longwood establishment. A table was taken out to the lawn and the cold collation brought from Longwood was spread upon it. Sir William says that it consisted of "a cold pie, potted meat, cold turkey, curried fowl, ham or pork, I could not tell which; coffee, dates, almonds, oranges, and a very fine salad." Doveton was invited to a chair on the right of Napoleon, who filled him a small tumbler of champagne, with another for himself. Doveton contributed what he called Mount Pleasant water, which was orange shrub made by Mrs. Greentree; he brought out from the house four liqueur glasses for Napoleon, Bertrand, Montholon, and himself. Napoleon drank his portion of the shrub and then invited Mrs. Greentree to join the party and take a cup of coffee. Mrs. Greentree found the coffee acid, whereupon Napoleon poured her out a glass of the shrub to take away the unpleasant taste. He asked Doveton whether he ever got drunk—Bertrand was the inefficient interpreter—to which Sir William replied, "I like a glass of wine sometimes." He asked Mrs. Greentree how often her husband got drunk, was it once a week? "No." "Once a fortnight?" "No." "Once a month?" "No; it is some years since I saw him so." "Bah," said Napoleon.

Doveton reported: "From every appearance but his pale colour it might be concluded that General Bonaparte was in good health; his face is astonishingly fat, and his body and thighs very round and plump." But Napoleon found the ride home very fatiguing, and at Hutt's Gate, reached at noon, he was glad to get into his carriage. The expedition had been far too much for his powers. On the following days a little exercise was taken in the garden. Antommarchi protested that Napoleon remained too long in a bath at a very high temperature. His reply was that he had learned the habit in Egypt, and had abundant proof that he derived great benefit therefrom. But on the 10th October, after having been for an hour in a hot bath, he was seized with faintness and had to be assisted to his bed; where he experienced later a sensation of icy cold all over the body, and especially in the extremities. Hot towels were applied to his legs. He had a constant dry cough, headache, and the persistent pain in the right side. The appetite at this time was fair, and there was no nausea or vomiting. Antommarchi was grudgingly permitted to apply two blisters on the arms, but neither of them gave any considerable result.

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[1] Butter is still sold in St. Helena by the pat.

On the 16th October Napoleon walked for two hours in the garden; on the 20th he was out again in the phaeton; on the 22nd he was much better, and had the Bertrands to dinner, which he ate with appetite. But on the 25th he was again feeling faint. He told Antommarchi that he felt that his condition was precarious, and urged the skilled dissector to perform an autopsy upon his corpse. The request arose from his belief that his disease was cancer of the stomach, though he was far from suggesting or admitting it. On the contrary, when Antommarchi, believing that the digestive powers were impaired, spoke of the grave consequences which might follow, insisted upon the necessity of medical treatment, and went so far as to "allow to escape some words upon the change which it appeared to me had come over the functions of the stomach as well as the liver, the Emperor rejoined sharply: 'What are you saying about the stomach? Know that mine is healthy; that never in any place, under any circumstance, have I experienced the smallest disturbance in that quarter: let there be no further mention of it, do you hear me ?' " After Napoleon's death Bertrand and his wife both declared to Sir Hudson Lowe that they could never prevail upon Napoleon to say where his pains really were.[1]

Many of the unfortunates who suffer from cancer avoid the use of the word, speaking of the pain as rheumatism, or gout, as if some shame or disgrace attached to this particular disease. Sufferers will even keep their trouble secret until it has become incurable, rather than admit, even to a professional adviser, the nature of the ailment. Napoleon may have shared in the general horror of this mysterious and deadly disease. At least he would not allow it to be supposed by the world that his trouble was anything but a disordered liver, the effect of the climate.

From this time forward the Emperor's condition was undoubtedly disquieting. To outside observers he may have had much the same appearance as when he arrived on the island. He had been from the first of a cadaverous complexion, with an obese, round body. The exterior aspect had not changed in any material degree, and it was only to the Longwood inmates that the great physical and mental prostration were known. Montholon reported the state of affairs to Lutyens or Gorrequer, for the information of Sir Hudson Lowe, but there had been so much exaggeration and deception in the past, that, fortified by Gourgaud's declaration that the Longwood assertions were not to be trusted, the Governor naturally hesitated to accept what was said, at its full value. Lutyens reported on the 1st November that Napoleon was very unwell, but that when Montholon suggested sending for Arnott, surgeon of the 20th Regiment, he said, " I shall be better in a few days ; there is no danger." Antommarchi wrote in his journal : " The pain in the liver is worse ; a dry and nearly continual cough, caused by the state of the stomach, brings vomitings of watery matter. An icy coldness of the extremities is constantly felt." Though he was not allowed to mention the stomach, Antommarchi knew that it must have been in a diseased state.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 170.

On the 4th November salt water was brought from the sea and Napoleon had a warm salt-water bath. A slight improvement took place. During these days, though very weak, hardly able to stand, Napoleon went daily into the garden, and sat down at the border of one of the fish ponds, where he would remain for hours watching the goldfish, and giving them bread. On the 7th November he resumed his drives in the phaeton, which he continued to take on most days.

Montholon wrote to his wife, on the 6th November, 1820: "All the days are much the same: at half-past eight or nine the Emperor sends for me; often I breakfast with him, that is, when he takes breakfast; at half-past eleven or twelve he goes to bed again. At one he receives Bertrand whom he retains a varying time, seldom more than two hours, when the latter comes to me. At three I dress for the promenade, when the Emperor is going out, to accompany him if Madame Bertrand does not come to take a place in the carriage, which she has done three or four times in the last two months. At five I dine alone with the Emperor and remain with him till eight, nine, or ten. Three times out of four he dines in bed. If I leave him before half-past nine I go to take tea with Madame Bertrand, and return at half-past ten to be companion to the Emperor. If, on the other hand, I have remained till ten he calls me in the night. For some months past he has done no work; his health has become so bad that he does not willingly leave his bed or his sofa. It is with great difficulty that I get him to go out in the carriage, or even in the garden when it is fine. Horseback fatigues him so much that he has almost given it up. He was very ill last week and gave us two days of great disquiet. Happily he is better now, but exceedingly feeble. He sends a message to you to send him some books. They are now his sole resource. He has to be read to, as his eyes get tired at once."[1]

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[1] "Lettres," pp. 62–3.

Sir Hudson Lowe read this letter, but he concluded that, as Montholon knew he would do so, the illness was purposely exaggerated for his eye. It is not surprising that a convicted malingerer should, when really ill, have some difficulty in obtaining acceptance of the fact. Lowe wrote to Bathurst on the 16th November: "That General Bonaparte cannot be in any very alarming state of illness is, however, sufficiently obvious, from his physician taking daily rides, at such distance as would create a delay of an hour and a half, before his assistance could be availed of."[1] Under the circumstances this was a very natural conclusion.

On the 17th November Lutyens reported: "Count Montholon further said the General was so heavy and drowsy that he would scarcely speak to any person about his person, and did not even think of reading."[2] Antommarchi writes on the 19th: "The Emperor has no longer any strength or energy. He is dominated by a desire for sleep; he feels a lassitude that he cannot overcome. 'Doctor, how sweet is repose. Bed has become for me a delicious place, I would not exchange it for all the thrones in the world. What a change! How I am fallen! I, whose activity had no bounds, whose head never slumbered. I am plunged in a lethargic stupor, I have to make an effort to lift my eyelids. I used to dictate sometimes on different subjects to four or five secretaries who wrote as fast as I spoke: but then I was Napoleon, now I am no longer anything; my strength, my faculties, leave me; I vegetate, I live no longer.'"

This condition of moral stupor continued. On the 20th November Antommarchi writes: "The Emperor is plunged in a profound sadness; he does not utter a syllable." 21st, 22nd, "The Emperor seems to be still given up to the same condition of melancholy; he eats little, consents to return to salt baths" (which had been discontinued). 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, "Same condition." 27th, "The Emperor is of a sombre humour." 28th, "The Emperor is extremely depressed." On this day he went for a short drive in the park, and on returning was seized with violent vomiting.

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[1] B.M., 20131, p. 210.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20131, p. 215.

On the 4th December, 1820, Lutyens wrote to Gorrequer: "Count Montholon informed me that General Bonaparte was getting weaker every day, and that now Doctor Antommarchi thought seriously of the General's state of health; that he fainted the last time when he returned from the carriage; that whatever he ate he immediately threw off his stomach; that he, Count Montholon, had the greatest trouble to get the General to move off his bed or sofa."[1]

Montholon was writing to his wife in the same sense, on the 5th December: "His stomach for some days past has failed to retain anything; his nourishment consists of extremely light food which he has to take every six hours; he remains always lying either in bed or upon a sofa, and is always dozing; three blisters have been applied, the flesh of the last one is cadaverous, the pulse can no longer be felt without the greatest difficulty, the gums, lips, nails are quite discoloured, the feet and legs are continually enveloped in flannel and hot towels, and are nevertheless as cold as ice: sometimes the cold rises half-way up the thigh; the hands also are like ice; I use all my efforts to get him to take the air every day, which the doctor strongly recommends, to restore his vitality, but often he finds it disagree with him. It appears that his heart and liver no longer perform their functions, and that what he says is unhappily true: 'there is no longer any oil in the lamp.' He recalls my poor sister in the last six months before her death; that suffices to tell you, my Albine, how painfully my feelings are affected; I am just a nurse. As for Bertrand, he never varies his mode of life; at a fixed hour he presents himself, is received or not received, it makes little difference which; as for his wife she bestirs herself occasionally, and then is for two months no longer seen. They are really strange people; they are absorbed in egoism to a degree one would not have believed.

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[1] B.M., 20131, p. 258.

Although their jealousy of me increases every day, we live very comfortably together."[1]

When Lord Bathurst read Montholon's letter, in February, 1821, he concluded, as he wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, "not that the whole is a deceit, but that the extent of the malady is designedly exaggerated." He observed that Montholon said Napoleon remained in his bed or on a sofa, at a time when he was taking daily exercise in his carriage; that it could hardly be imagined Count Bertrand would confine himself to the daily formal visit if he thought Napoleon was in a serious condition; and that Montholon was writing to his wife about leaving the Emperor.

Sir Hudson Lowe had written to Bathurst in much the same sense, on the 6th December, 1820. He remarked that Montholon talked of going, that Antommarchi was much absent, and that Napoleon took exercise; all this seemed inconsistent with the idea of severe illness. He added—and this is the gist of the whole matter—that if it was true that Napoleon was seriously ill, he, Lowe, could do nothing more than offer the best medical advice to be obtained on the island, which he frequently did. Bathurst in reply suggested that he might offer to send to the Cape, where there was a doctor with a great reputation. The allusion was to the person known as Dr. Barry, who was considered quite a phenomenon at the Cape, and was discovered, in the end, to be a woman.

Napoleon scorned medical advice. "You have no idea," said Montholon to the Governor one day, "what a bad patient he is; he is worse than an infant two years old—one can do nothing with him." Only when, as the result of discussion with Antommarchi, who spoke of stomach disorder, Napoleon became haunted with fear of his father's disease, did he consent to make an effort to save himself, and then it was too late.

On the 26th December news arrived of the death of Eliza, the eldest sister of Napoleon. He was profoundly affected, asked with anxiety what she died of, and regarded the event as an evidence that Fate was now permanently against him. "Eliza," he said in sombre tones to Antommarchi, "Eliza has just shown us the way; death, which seemed to have forgotten my family, begins to knock; my turn cannot be long delayed." He remarked that Eliza had always declared that her energy and activity alone had kept her going. He was of the same opinion, that an active life is conducive to health. "I have had the experience myself, and you can see now the consequences of the contrary regime."

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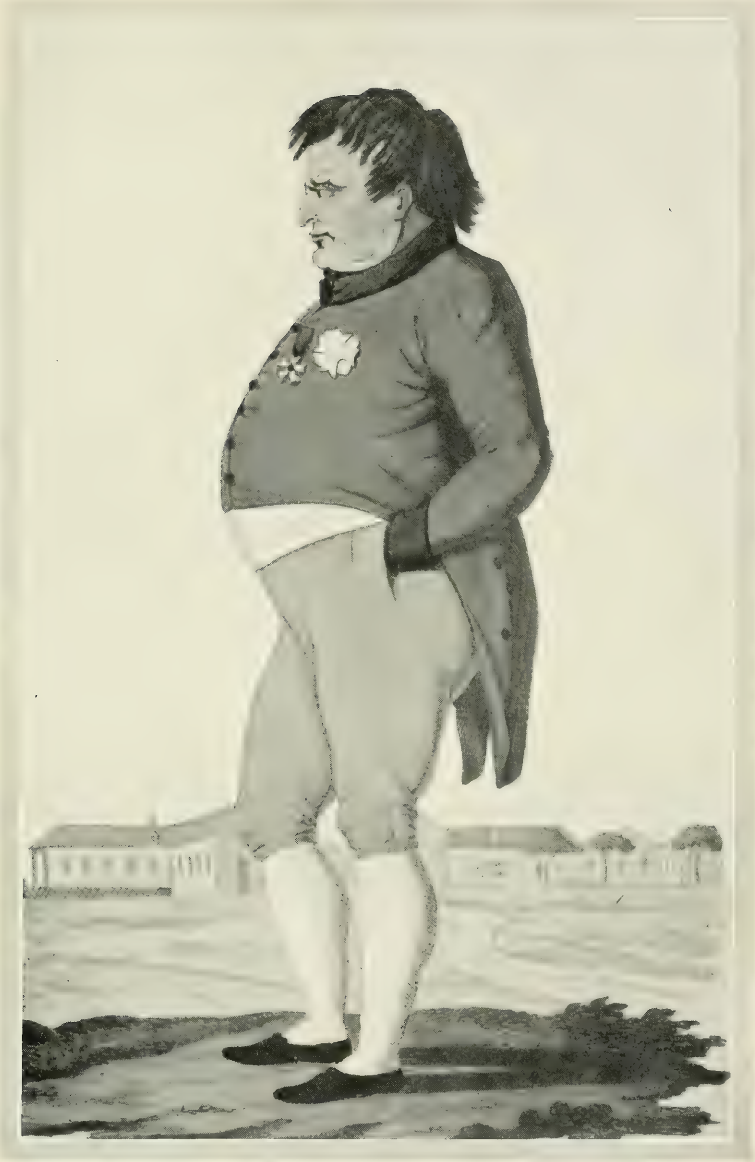
[1] "Lettres," pp. 63–4.

Napoleon had great faith in the profuse perspiration obtained from violent exercise, especially from a sharp gallop on horseback. He said to Antommarchi that if he could take a good ride every day for a fortnight or three weeks, he would recover. As for the obstacle of physical feebleness he thought he could overcome that in the manner of his sister Eliza, by courage and determination. Though he was so weak that he could barely move a step, he declared that if a dangerous animal, a lion or tiger, were to attack him, strength would be given him for the activity necessary for escape. It was a question of moral exaltation. Under this conviction he insisted on having his horse saddled, and went for a sharp gallop of several miles, and repeated the outing on subsequent days. But he found the tax upon his strength too great; he did not recover from the fatigue. Not to be daunted he tried the exercise to be obtained from a see-saw, which was constructed for him, in what had been the billiard-room. He derived no benefit from this and soon gave it up.

Antommarchi would persist in forcing drugs upon him, which, in spite of his lack of confidence in their efficiency, Napoleon occasionally consented to take. But it was always under protest, and when Antommarchi said of a certain medicine that its action was beneficial, Napoleon replied: "For the stomachs made for pharmacy, I dare say, but mine is virgin, a stranger to all remedies. The smell of your drugs



NAPOLEON, 6 MARCH, 1821

From a sketch attributed to Ensign Ward

alone suffices to make it contract. Apply to my exterior all the medicaments you please, I consent to it, but you shall not introduce into my body a concoction of preparations, made of ingredients capable of destroying the most robust constitution—never. I do not wish to have two diseases, one due to nature and the other to medicine." Napoleon was losing patience with Antommarchi. He asked him one day what he thought of the condition of his pulse, and received the reply that it showed His Majesty was getting better. " No doubt," was the bitter comment. " All is repugnant to me, I feel disgust at everything. I cannot retain even the lightest food, and I am getting better ! Do not try to deceive me, I am dying."

In desperation Napoleon sent Montholon to the Governor with a letter repeating his application to be allowed to go to Europe, to take mineral waters at a Spa. He also said he wished to have a physician sent out to him from France, as his surgeon, Antommarchi, was unable to help him, in his condition. The new man should be over forty-five years of age, and should be selected by Desgenettes, or Percy, or Larrey. To replace Bertrand and Montholon, who both wished to go, he said that he would receive with pleasure any person who might have been attached to his person, and mentioned in particular, Caulaincourt, Savary, Ségur, Montesquiou, Daru, Drouot, Turenne, Denon, Arnauld. In another list he had included Maret, Fleury de Chaboulon, and even the abbé de Pradt. Napoleon insisted that this time the choice should not be left to Cardinal Fesch or any other member of his family, that the British or French Government could do what was required.

The abbé Buonavita suffered another stroke of apoplexy, and was of no service to Napoleon. Another priest was therefore desired. The cook Chandelier had experienced severe fainting fits and Madame de Montholon had already been commissioned to send out another French cook to replace him, with an assistant cook. Gentilini, the valet, "cries and groans all day to be allowed to depart," writes Montholon to his wife. Madame Bertrand's patience had come to an end. Since her husband's rudeness to Colonel Lyster and refusal to accept his challenge he was seldom visited or spoken to by any British officer.[1]

A visit to Madame had hitherto been an act of politeness, without political significance. But now she was deserted. She complained to Sir Hudson Lowe, who reminded her that a list of fifty names was to have been given him, by her or her husband, of persons who were to have the right to call upon her without a pass, merely leaving their names with the officer of the Guard. He was prepared to give the permission as soon as the list was made out. Madame Bertrand accordingly sent Lowe forty-six names, and the required permission was at once granted.[2]

In spite of this alleviation Madame Bertrand found the weariness of the St. Helena existence more and more insupportable, and by her reiterated prayers and entreaties she at last wore down her husband's opposition. First he agreed to let her go, alone; then, much against the grain, he was brought to contemplate his own abandonment of his master; his absence, he said, would be temporary, to take his children to be educated in Europe, and then return. Bertrand was torn by the conflicting claims of his home and his Emperor. With his wife and children about him, he was not so unhappy at St. Helena, but he regarded himself as part of an institution which he could hardly desert without dishonour. In any case he was determined not to leave Napoleon until a successor had been found.

Montholon also was very fond of his wife and children, and was very miserable when they had gone. His health suffered and he wrote to his wife, on the 31st October, 1819, urging her not to lose a moment in obtaining somebody to relieve him. But as time went on he found that he was displacing Bertrand in the regard of Napoleon. Living at Longwood, and having no domestic distractions, he was Napoleon's chief companion. He became the channel of communication between the Emperor and the British authorities, and it was to some extent due to his conciliatory nature that the relations between the two improved. He performed for Napoleon some of the functions of the sick nurse, and he was a more pliable attendant than the Grand Marshal. Napoleon leaned on him both physically and morally, and dreaded the thought of his departure. Knowing that Montholon was chronically in debt, Napoleon informed him one day that he had great wealth at disposal, and would reward those who stood by him; and he made a definite promise that he would leave Montholon a large sum of money in his will. Montholon told the French Commissioner that the sum mentioned was £100,000. He reported this in a letter to his wife, and remarked at the same time that his health was entirely re-established. He told her that he would not leave Napoleon until somebody had arrived to replace him, and she replied on the 16th August, 1820: "Without any doubt, even if you obtained a substitute, you would damage the consideration in which you are held if you were to abandon the position you have taken up." For herself, she said: "If it were not for the climate of Longwood the life there would be much more to my liking than that of the world" (of Paris). "You alone, *mon ami*, are the judge of what will conduce to your happiness. Personally I think I know you, and I am persuaded that you would no sooner have bid adieu to the black mountains of the place of melancholy sojourn than you will regret it. Permit me then to ask you a question. If there was no question of my health or of yours, would you prefer to continue to live for some years more there, or here? Adieu, *mon ami*, pardon me my dreams and remember that I have but one wish, to be reunited to you."[1]

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[1] Report of Balmain, 20th December, 1818: Depuis que le comte Bertrand a refusé de se battre en duel avec le Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, il est tombé dans une telle abjection que personne ne le voit, ne lui parle, ne le salue. Etant Russe, je n'ai pas cru devoir partager l'esprit de corps des Anglais, et je continue à lui faire des politesses. "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 716.

[2] B.M., 20128, p. 517.

Madame de Montholon found, on looking back, that Longwood was not such a miserable place as they had been accustomed to declare. She had been happier there than she was in Paris, and believed that Longwood would suit her and her husband together, better than Paris. Montholon at the same time was writing to her that he thought if Bertrand went he also would regret St. Helena.

In March, 1820, Madame de Montholon applied to Lord Bathurst for a substitute for her husband. The reply was that any person recommended by the Bonapartes at Rome would be sent to St. Helena. Madame wrote accordingly to Rome, but neither Fesch nor Madame Mère would take any steps to send substitutes, without an express demand from Napoleon himself.[2] She wrote to Pauline, whose answer was that she understood that Planat de la Faye was willing to go, but that Fesch and Madame Mère had dissuaded her from taking any step in the matter, without the express authority of the Emperor.[3] They were still under the influence of the clairvoyante, who made them believe that Napoleon was no longer at St. Helena. Their previous efforts at selection had been derided, and it was natural they should have no desire to attempt the task again.

When it was made known among the Bonapartists that a pilgrim for St. Helena was wanted, Planat was the only man to offer himself. "It is strange," wrote Madame de Montholon to her husband, "what apprehension is felt at the idea of going to live upon your rock."

Antommarchi, whose manners Montholon described to Lowe as "frivolous and presuming," was so offended at Napoleon's request for a French physician to be sent for to assist him, that he wrote Montholon a demand to be allowed to return to Europe. Montholon was instructed by Napoleon

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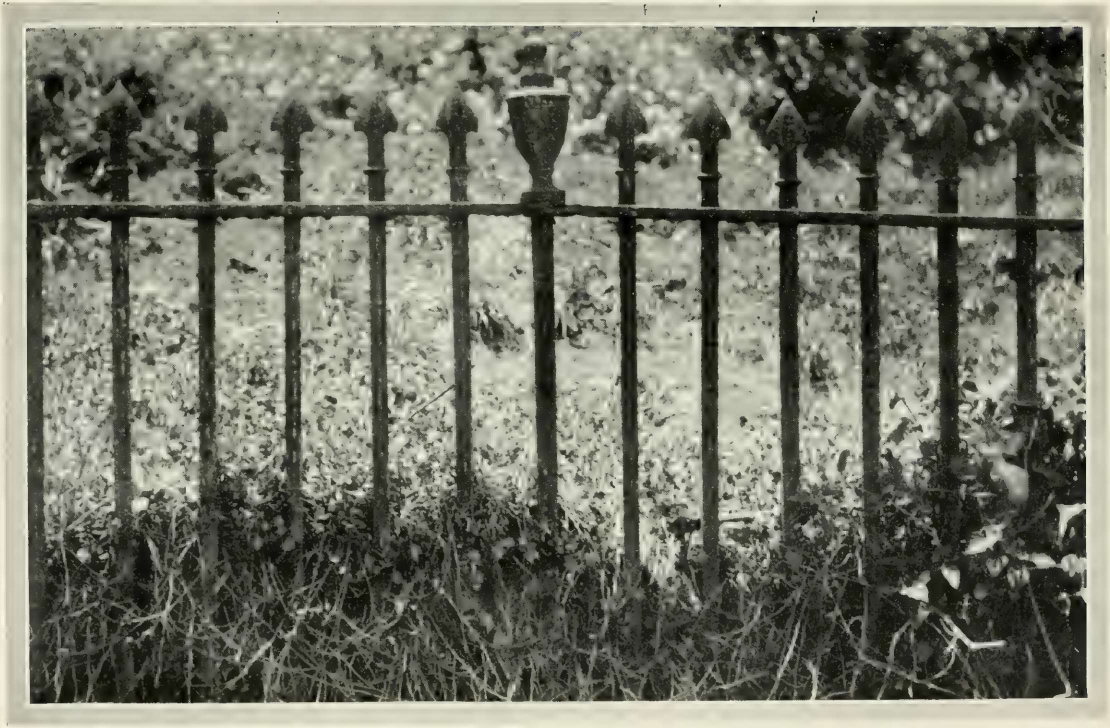
[1] Lettres, pp. 54–6. [2] *Ibid.*, 25th March, 1820, 4th July, 1820.

[3] *Ibid.*, 12th June, 1820, 16th August, 1820, 31st August, 1820.



THE IRON RAILINGS ROUND BERTRAND'S HOUSE AND NEW LONGWOOD

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

to reply that the Emperor proposed he should leave with the abbé Buonavita, as his assistance might be of service on the voyage to the dying old man. The letter concluded: "During the fifteen months you have spent in this place you have given His Majesty no confidence in your moral character; you can be of no use to him in his illness, and your residing here for some months longer would have no object, and be of no use." For some days Antommarchi was not admitted into the presence of Napoleon, who thus had a complete respite from drugs and blisters.

The new house was now ready for occupation. It had been erected, at great expense, in spite of the persistent opposition of Napoleon and his repeated statement that he would never occupy it. He could not be compelled to do so: all that could be done was to offer him a large, well-furnished house, suitable for his residence.

If he had been well enough there can be no doubt that he would have been glad to move into it. Indeed he expressed to the Governor, through Montholon, his appreciation of the efforts made to provide accommodation suitable for him. He had made strong objection to the iron railings, speaking of them as a cage, and it had been agreed to remove the part around the lawn. He told Montholon to inform the Governor that he wished part of the old house to be retained, in case of fire at the new one—which could only mean that he intended to make the move. On the 17th March Montholon wrote to his wife that he expected soon to be in different quarters. This is decisive testimony.[1]

On the 19th January Montholon wrote to his wife: "The Emperor continues to give us great anxiety; he has occasional recoveries; but on the whole his condition becomes steadily worse; his weakness is beyond words, and I very much fear that our doctor has not the ability required for the treatment of so complicated an illness. I cannot express it better than by this comparison: it is a fire going out; from time to time there are bursts of flame which are always followed by a diminution of strength, that will explain to you, my dear Albine, what is my position and the worry to which I am exposed. My days are passed with him; at five when it is fine I make him take a drive, at a walking pace, in the park. On returning I leave him for an hour to take a little exercise, and am then closeted with him in his room till ten or eleven o'clock. Very often I have not yet dined at that hour. My health is very good. The inclination, which, as you know, the Emperor has for darkness, increases every day; he has the venetians down, shutters and curtains closed, and declares that there is still too much light. But the fact is that on entering his room one has to grope one's way."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20132, p. 181; "Lettres," p. 75, 17th March, 1821.

Napoleon's drives in the phaeton were taken, at a walking pace, every day, and sometimes twice in the day, at 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., till the middle of March. On the 16th Lowe sent up to Longwood two cases of books which had come from Lady Holland, and informed Montholon that more books were on the way, with the two cooks selected by the Countess Montholon—Louis Chandelier and Claude Perruset.[2]

On the 17th March the abbé Buonavita left St. Helena. He said to Lowe: "You know, Sir Governor, the state of my relations at Longwood. I have not consented to behave in the manner that it has been desired that I should behave." He had declined to assist in any intrigues against the Governor. Then he added, in reference to Napoleon's condition: "It cannot last long. If you could see his face! I assure you as an independent and honourable man that it cannot last. Remember what I am saying."[3]

Antommarchi gave Buonavita a letter for Colonna, in which he said that the chronic hepatitis from which the Emperor was suffering was endemic in the latitude of St. Helena, and had become steadily worse ; that neither the hepatic nor the digestive functions were being discharged ; that the illness was very grave, and was due to the climate ; that unless Napoleon was speedily removed from St. Helena his death could not be far distant. The English newspapers kept on repeating that the Emperor's health was good ; the event would prove whether they were sincere or well informed.

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[1] "Lettres," pp. 68–9.

[2] B.M., 20123, p. 256; 20202, pp. 279, 280.

[3] "Lei sa Signor Governatore, lo stato delle mie relazione a Longwood; non ho voluto comportarme come si ha voluto ch 'io mi comportasse. . . . Non puo durare molto tempo; sei lei vedesse sua faccia. L' assicuro come uomo independente e di onore che non durera. Si ricordo di cio che lo dico." B.M., 20132, p. 273.

On the same day Montholon was writing to his wife : " If I am not yet the only one left " (the allusion is to the threatened departure of the Bertrands) " you must attribute that solely to the deplorable condition of the health of the Emperor, who has given us all the complete conviction that, in one way or another, St. Helena is near its end. It is impossible that he can live much longer. Our doctor declares that a change of climate would save him ; but I hope it more than I believe it, for I have never seen anybody so much like a corpse as he now is."[1]

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[1] "Lettres," p. 75, 17th March, 1821.

CHAPTER XXVI

DEATH

ON the 18th March, 1821, Napoleon went for his usual airing in the phaeton at 9 a.m. at a walking pace.[1] On returning he took to the bed from which he was never to rise. He was suffering from a sharp attack of fever, with icy extremities, shivering, and chattering teeth. From the 20th onwards he complained persistently of a burning and severe pain in the abdomen. Sometimes he described it as the cutting of a knife, a *coup de canif.* On the 21st there was a period of delirium. Antommarchi induced Napoleon to take doses of tartar emetic, which were followed by abundant vomiting, on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th March. His sufferings from this treatment were severe. On the 25th he declined to submit any longer to the ordeal. Montholon asserts that the emetic was then brought in a glass of lemonade, which Napoleon examined with suspicion and compelled Montholon himself to drink, with the result to be expected ; and that Napoleon then turned furiously upon Antommarchi, called him an assassin, and declared he would never see him again.

Then an interview took place between Montholon and Dr. Arnott, the surgeon of the 20th Regiment, encamped at Deadwood. Arnott reported : " The Count waited on me at Captain Lutyens' and described to me the symptoms the General was labouring under, viz., great irritation of stomach, headache, high fever, and pain of the belly. He asked me under those circumstances if I thought emetics were proper,

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[1] B.M., 20132, p. 272, Lutyens to Gorrequer.

From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

ARCHIBALD ARNOTT, M.D.

as Dr. Antommarchi had given him one every day for the last five days ? I said it was almost impossible I could form an opinion from his description of General Bonaparte's case, or if anyone could, without either seeing the patient or hearing the symptoms well detailed by a medical man. The Count told me that Dr. Antommarchi called General Bonaparte's disease a gastric intermittent fever."

As Arnott would express no opinion to a non-medical man, Montholon induced Antommarchi to give Arnott a professional description of the case. The remedy that Arnott then proposed was the application of a blister to the abdomen.[1]

Lowe wrote to Bathurst on the 24th March: "Count Montholon, in his account of General Bonaparte's illness, did not ascribe it either to climate or treatment here. The disease he evidently considered to lie in the languid circulation of the blood, in the weakness of the organs of digestion, and in the *mind*. What he said on the subject of the liver complaint was evidently introduced for no other purpose than to preserve a kind of consistency with what had been before so frequently advanced on this subject, and in order, as it seemed, that nothing might be left unsaid. It was literally brought in, as it were, in a parenthesis. . . . In what regards my own conduct towards him, to the offer of medical assistance if he will accept it, and to the administering of any comfort and convenience which it is within my means to afford, I shall in strict accord with the spirit of all the instructions I have received continue to do everything in my power for his relief, in the same manner as if all that has been related to me of his situation, derived from an unquestionable source."[2]

This was the only course open to the Governor. He could do no more than offer, as he repeatedly did, the best medical advice that could be obtained, and give immediate response to any requests for comforts of any kind. Pheasants being the Governor's property, he sent up to Longwood one on the 17th April, a brace on the 18th, and one on the 21st.[1] There was no scope for further attentions on his part.

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[1] B.M., 20132, pp. 309, 317; 20133, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20132, p. 308.

The orderly was now unable to ascertain Napoleon's presence, and Sir Hudson Lowe had to insist that the prisoner should show himself. He kept his rooms quite dark; a candle in the adjoining room, and the door open, was all that he would allow. Even those who were admitted into his bedroom could not always see him to the extent of recognition. A means of getting over the difficulty was found. Lutyens was brought to the window at the time that Napoleon was being assisted from the bedroom to the adjoining room, and this move was made the excuse for slightly opening a venetian and a curtain; thus the orderly could report that he had seen and recognized Napoleon.

This difficulty came to an end when Napoleon at last gave way to the urgent solicitations of his attendants and consented to admit an English doctor. Arnott was the natural choice, and was ascertained to be acceptable. It was agreed that the Governor would not insist upon being given bulletins. Arnott was to take notes, which he would submit to the Governor, but they were not to be regarded as official communications.[2]

Arnott was received by Napoleon on the 1st April, 1821, and thenceforward once or twice every day. We have three accounts of his attendances. The notes he wrote out were given daily to the Governor, and copies are in the British Museum, Vol. 20157. In 1822 these notes, which were bulletins in all but name, were published by Dr. Arnott, "with but little addition or alteration," he says, in a pamphlet which he called, "An account of the last illness, decease, and post-mortem appearances of Napoleon Bonaparte." The additions and alterations were intended as a defence of Arnott's treatment of the case, and a "succinct

[1] B.M., 20211, pp. 455, 464. [2] *Ibid.*, 20133, pp. 15, 52.

statement" of the illness was added. The third account is, like the notes, in Vol. 20157 of the British Museum manuscripts, under the heading "Substance of information obtained respecting General Bonaparte's indisposition since the day on which an English medical officer was called upon to visit him." This contains contemporary reports based upon verbal information, most of it derived from Arnott.

What Arnott knew of the case before he was introduced to the patient may be shortly recapitulated. He knew that O'Meara had asserted that Napoleon was suffering from chronic hepatitis, caused by the want of exercise and the climate; that O'Meara had on more than one occasion told the Governor the illness could be cured by a fortnight's exercise—in which case it could not have been a case of chronic hepatitis; and that, when challenged by Baxter, O'Meara admitted that he could not positively assert that Napoleon was suffering from any specific disease, and agreed that the stationary nature of the symptoms complained of was unlike chronic hepatitis. O'Meara, in short, admitted to his colleague that he could not justify his diagnosis of chronic hepatitis, nor positively assert the existence of any other disease. Then came Gourgaud's categorical statements, repeated before high British and Continental officials, that O'Meara was imposing upon them, and that Napoleon was in his ordinary state of health. Then the fraud was perpetrated upon Stokoe, as was revealed by the proposal to Verling that another attack of syncope should be simulated. The evidence of concerted plans of malingering was conclusive. Arnott knew that he had to deal with a conspiracy, which was still persisted in, to force upon him a diagnosis of alarming liver disease caused by the climate. He knew also that Montholon in his latest statement to Lowe had drawn attention to the condition of the patient's mind, and that Antommarchi had laid stress upon the moral prostration.

He must often have discussed the situation with friends and colleagues, and these considerations had doubtless already obtained a hold upon him. The result was that he came to the case with a prejudice against the liver theory, a conviction that malingering was still practised, and an inclination to believe that mental distress was an important factor. Any man in his position would have acquired these predispositions. His professional acumen and mental elasticity were now to be put to the test.

His first visit to Napoleon strengthened the opinions he had already formed. He was shown, at 10.30 p.m. of the 1st April, 1821, into what had been the study, which was now the bedroom. "The room," he says, "was dark, so that I could not see him, but I felt him or someone else. I examined his pulse and state of skin. I perceived there was considerable debility, but nothing that indicated immediate danger." Like Ricketts, who also had been taken into a room so dark that he could hardly see Napoleon, Arnott received a bad impression. It seemed as if he was being deliberately deceived, so that he even declined to affirm that the person put forward as the patient was really Napoleon.

Further mystification followed, for when he came next morning, and actually saw Napoleon, though in a very dark room, he did not discover any serious symptoms, although he had been told by Antommarchi that the patient had passed a very bad night. Here was proof of the concerted malingering, and it was of daily occurrence. On the 5th April Arnott wrote to Gorrequer: "I did not find him labouring under any of the symptoms there detailed."[1] And on the 6th Reade wrote to the Governor: "Dr. Arnott informed me that he had never found him, during any of his visits, in the state in which he had been described by Dr. Antommarchi. From what I could learn generally, out of Dr. Arnott's conversation, he appears to think that General Bonaparte is not affected with any serious complaint, probably more mental than any other. Count Bertrand has asked him his opinion of General Bonaparte: he told him that he saw no danger whatever. During his visit this morning he recommended General Bonaparte to rise and get shaved. He replied he was too weak at present, that he would shave when he was a little stronger. He always preferred shaving himself. His beard is very long, and Dr. Arnott describes his looks in consequence to be horrible. I inquired if he appeared much emaciated? His reply was in these words: 'No; I feel his pulse frequently, and he has as stout a wrist, with as much flesh upon his arm as I have, neither does his face appear to have fallen away much. I see nothing very particular in his appearance except his colour, which is very pallid—cadaverous. I saw him vomit this morning, which is the only extraordinary thing I have observed; he did not, however, vomit much.'"

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 18.

On the 9th April Montholon wrote to his wife, that the fever had abated and that "the doctors are inclined to think there is no longer any danger, and that before long the period of convalescence will be entered. You can have no idea how changed and how weak he is: he is as thin as in 1800, and I look big and fat beside him. I have been so fortunate as to obtain from him permission to call in Dr. Arnott. And, beyond contradiction, it is due to his treatment that the Emperor is out of his trouble. In spite of the repugnance he feels at taking the necessary remedies, he has taken some, and every day his confidence in Dr. Arnott increases."

Lowe read this letter, and soon afterwards received from Arnott a report quite irreconcilable with Montholon's assertion that Napoleon had become very thin: "The seeming fullness of General Bonaparte's appearance, Dr. Arnott finds it difficult to reconcile with the accounts given by his followers of the little sustenance he takes, and of his continual vomitings."[1]

Arnott later made a more careful examination of Napoleon's legs, and he agreed that they were thin. Napoleon himself said, "The Devil has eaten my calves." But he does not appear to have lost flesh in any other part, and was still very fat when he died. Arnott and Henry have left on record their astonishment at this condition. Arnott in a letter to Lowe of the 11th May, 1821, says: "What is very remarkable in this case, the patient did not become emaciated, at least to correspond with the disease. The dissection report will show how very fat the body was post-mortem."[1] Henry says: "As during his eventful career there was much of the mysterious and inscrutable about him, so, even after death, Buonaparte's inanimate remains continued a puzzle and mystery; for notwithstanding his great sufferings, and the usual emaciating effects of the malady that proved fatal, the body was found enormously fat."[2]

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 41; 20157, p. 6.

This unusual feature of the case was puzzling, and helped to throw Arnott off the scent; and the assertion by Montholon, that Napoleon was as thin as in 1800, seemed further confirmation of the malingering.

On the 9th April Napoleon was better. Arnott's cheering assurances had made an impression upon the patient, whose belief in everything English made him ready to ascribe the amelioration to the ministrations of the new adviser. Arnott's belief, that it was the moral that was chiefly at fault, prescribed a sanguine and encouraging attitude on his part, and he was so fortunate as to be called in shortly before nature produced a temporary recovery. Arnott was therefore in great favour and Antommarchi accordingly abused. The Corsican had been absent more than once when he was wanted. He was told that the Emperor would never see him again. He concluded that he was to be permanently superseded by Arnott, and went to Lowe to ask for facilities for leaving St. Helena. The Governor expressed his regret at the proposal and declined to give any immediate answer.

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[1] "An Account," etc., by Archibald Arnott, M.D., p. 33.
[2] "Events of a Military Life," vol. ii, p. 82.

Shortly afterwards Antommarchi was again received by Napoleon. His assistance was indeed most essential, for the presence of a resident medical man was necessary, especially at night.

On the 13th April Arnott was urging Napoleon to take the medicine he had ordered, when the Emperor remarked that he ought not to be pressed on such a point as if he were a soldier of Arnott's regiment. He then began to praise British soldiers, and finally said he would present to the officers of the 20th, Coxe's "Life of Marlborough," which had been given him by the Hon. Robert Spencer in the previous October. Spencer had touched at St. Helena on the way home from the East. He belonged to the Opposition ; though Napoleon did not receive him, Bertrand and Montholon had hoped to enlist his sympathy for their complaints. Spencer rode round the limits and made every inquiry into the alleged grievances ; he went away convinced, as he told Sir Hudson Lowe, that "if the precautions erred in any way it was more on the side of indulgence than unnecessary restraint."

Napoleon had always admired Marlborough. When, at the siege of Acre, Sidney Smith sent him a challenge to personal combat, his reply was that he was prepared to fight if a Marlborough was forthcoming. He was much interested in the biography, and made Madame Bertrand translate the greater part of the two volumes into French for his reading.

Spencer wrote in the first volume :—

Hunc de Proavi rebus gestis librum
Napoleoni mittit
Ducis Marlburiensis Pronepos
Robertus Spencer.
A.D. 1817.[1]

Somebody had added the words "l'empereur Napoléon." Perhaps this was done by Bertrand or Montholon.

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[1] B.M., 20128, p. 509.

By Napoleon's order the books were left, by one of the French attendants, in the room of the orderly officer, Captain Lutyens, without note or explanation. Lutyens found them there and could not account for their presence, until he was told by Arnott later in the day. Lutyens informed the Governor, who wrote to Arnott: "The attempt to make you the channel of communication in such matters, as they well know, is foreign to your professional duties, and it will probably, therefore, not have been made without some ulterior design in view."

Lowe instructed Major Jackson, who was in temporary command of the 20th, to inform Lutyens that the book should be returned to Montholon. It could not be given to the 20th Regiment because it contained the Imperial title and had been deposited in the orderly officer's room without message or explanation. Lutyens carried out his orders, but wrote to Jackson, who was not popular in the regiment, a disrespectful letter; on being reprimanded by the Governor he became frankly insubordinate and had to be removed from his post. Captain Crokat, of the 20th, took his place as orderly officer at Longwood on the 26th April.

After the death of Napoleon the books were, by order of the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, accepted from the hands of Montholon by Sir William Houston, Colonel of the 20th. They rest now among the archives of the Lancashire Fusiliers (formerly the 20th Foot).[1]

Lowe feared that Arnott might become entangled in the Longwood intrigues and insensibly develop into another O'Meara. But he should have been satisfied with a formal protest. It was ungracious to prevent the 20th Regiment from receiving this present from Napoleon. He was adhering too strictly to the letter of his instructions.

On the 13th and 14th April Napoleon was dictating his will.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 42 *et seq.*; 20211, p. 434 *et seq.*; 20233, p. 167. "History of the 20th Regiment," by Major M. B. Smyth, M.V.O. "Lancashire Fusiliers' Annual," 1891, p. 55.

THE DOORWAY THAT FACED NAPOLEON ON HIS DEATH-BED

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

On the latter day Arnott told Antommarchi that Napoleon's eyes "appeared quite clear, he could observe no yellow suffusion either in them or in the skin. Count Montholon had asked his opinion respecting General Bonaparte's having the liver complaint. Dr. Arnott's reply was that he could observe 'no hardness or swelling whatever to indicate the disorder.'" Arnott kept insisting that the symptoms were being exaggerated to him by Antommarchi. "15th April. Dr. Arnott found no alteration in General Bonaparte since the day before. Dr. Antommarchi, however, informed Dr. Arnott he had been with General Bonaparte the whole night, and the General was so ill that he thought he would have died." This day, the 15th, was spent by Napoleon in the labour of writing out his will, and although he showed no signs of fatigue at the time, Arnott found him next morning in a state of prostration and with a mind much agitated. Napoleon told Arnott he had lost all hope of recovery.

It was now decided to move the sick man into the drawing-room, as his bedroom was inconveniently small. Two carpenters were sent to make certain repairs. Lutyens took the opportunity of observing that Napoleon would be much more comfortable in the spacious apartments of the new house, to which Montholon replied that they had had great difficulty in persuading the Emperor to go into the drawing-room.

The carpenters began work, but before they had finished Napoleon was assisted into the drawing-room, in the evening. His bed was placed against the wall, between the windows, facing the ornate door that leads into the entrance-room. The small bust of the King of Rome was brought into the room.

On the 17th the carpenters finished their work in the presence of Napoleon, who watched them from his bed. Antommarchi said Napoleon was suffering from a cold sweat, but Arnott could discover no appearance of it; he found the pulse "of an ordinary beat and a very regular 75. His body also the natural heat." But Arnott forgot that 75 was 15 to 20 beats above the normal for Napoleon. Antommarchi told Arnott he knew there were no immediate signs of death about him, but he was in that state " the dust of a ball would carry him off."

Arnott's opinion, expressed verbally to the Governor, was to the following effect: " Dr. Arnott remarked to the Governor that if General Bonaparte took no more sustenance than what Dr. Antommarchi and his followers said he did, he must finally sink under it. Dr. Arnott added that he became more and more confirmed in the opinion that the disease was hypochondriasis; no symptoms of immediate danger about him, but if some alteration for the better did not take place the ordinary results of the disease might be expected. His mind seemed to be particularly affected. Dr. Arnott had remarked a singularity in his manner that morning. He was sitting in a chair and began whistling, when, suddenly stopping, he opened his mouth quite wide, projected it forward, and looked steadily at Dr. Arnott in the face for a short time with a kind of vacant stare.

" The Governor asking Dr. Arnott whether it might be advisable to excite General Bonaparte in some way, to procure some change for him—to get him into the new house, for instance. Oh, said Dr. Arnott immediately, anything occurring to break the present association of ideas would doubtless have a good effect. If, for example, a seventy-four was to arrive from England to take him away, I have no doubt he would soon recover. This would put him on his legs again directly.

" The Governor then asked Dr. Arnott whether he thought there was anything peculiar in the air of this place to create the disorder with which he thought General Bonaparte to be affected. No, he said, it might be the same in any other place where he was under restrictions as a prisoner in the same way that he is here."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20157, p. 9.

Montholon told Lutyens that he did not think Napoleon could survive more than three or four weeks; that his strength appeared to have gone from his body to his head, as he now recollected everything of former days; the stupor and forgetfulness had left him, and he was now continually talking of what would take place at his death. This was a very different verdict from that of Arnott.

Antommarchi diagnosed the case as "febbre gastrica e pituitosa," a gastric and pituitary fever; and he told Major Gorrequer that "the bad state of the invalid's interior was not confined to one part particularly, such as his liver, but it was a general disorder of the intestines."[1] As the illness became serious the liver theory gradually lost favour.

On the 18th the two doctors had a long discussion. Napoleon had said that he preferred to die without taking drugs. "We have not come to that," said Arnott. Antommarchi then took his colleague aside and said to him, "You are always spreading hopes amongst us, on what are they based?" He then analysed the symptoms, and he tells us that Arnott "soon gave up a conviction which he had not held." Arnott broached to Antommarchi the subject of hereditary cancer. Antommarchi, remembering Napoleon's interdiction, took up the political attitude, insinuating that the idea of cancer had originated with Sir Hudson Lowe, whose object was to save the reputation of the climate. Arnott repudiated the imputation, and observed that Napoleon himself was always talking of cancer, and was convinced that he was suffering from that disease. Though Napoleon would not allow his doctor to adopt and publish the cancer theory, he talked about it in private to his attendants. Arnott told Henry that he would put his hand on the stomach and exclaim, "Ah! mon pylore!" To the Bertrands and others of his household he adhered to a policy of mystification, and would not say where the pain was, keeping up the climate and liver theory; to the doctors he now made no secret of his real apprehensions. Antommarchi referred to the crowd of soldiers in the hospitals. "They are worn out by their duties, by night and by day," answered Arnott. "I am quite sure the climate is not answerable. The air is pure and temperate, we enjoy the plenitude of our strength here, we should not be better in our native land." Arnott was in a dilemma; he fell back upon the inexplicable decrees of fate. "Some die," he said, "some live. Man is like a pendulum which swings for a certain time and then stops, and neither the air not the temperature can keep it going." This was Napoleon's well-known belief. "*Quod scriptum, scriptum,*" he said to Antommarchi, "all that is to happen is written down, our fate is fixed."

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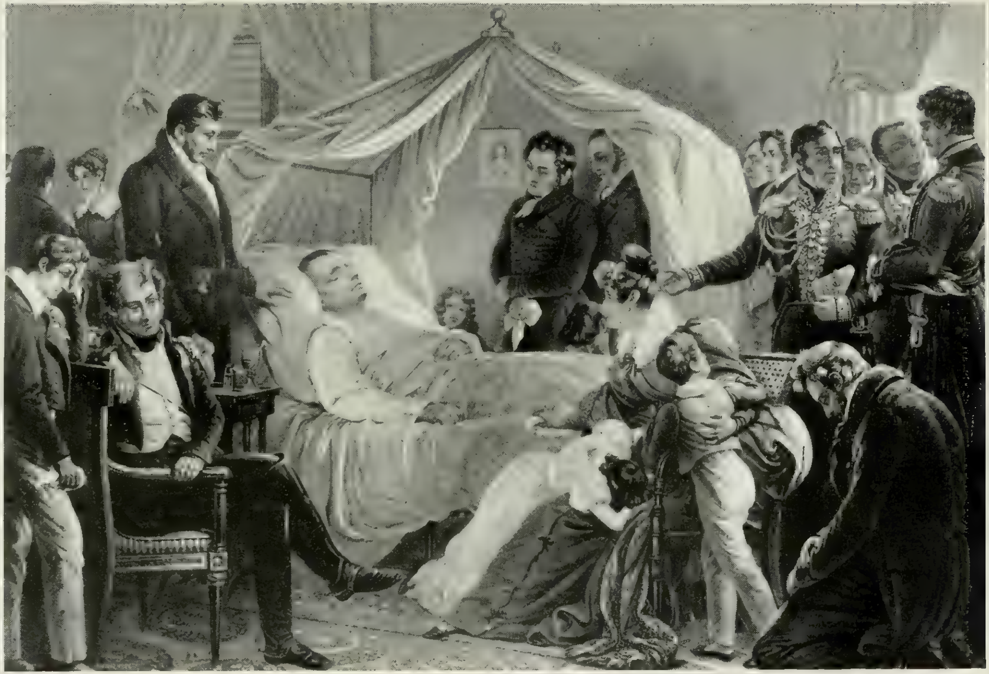
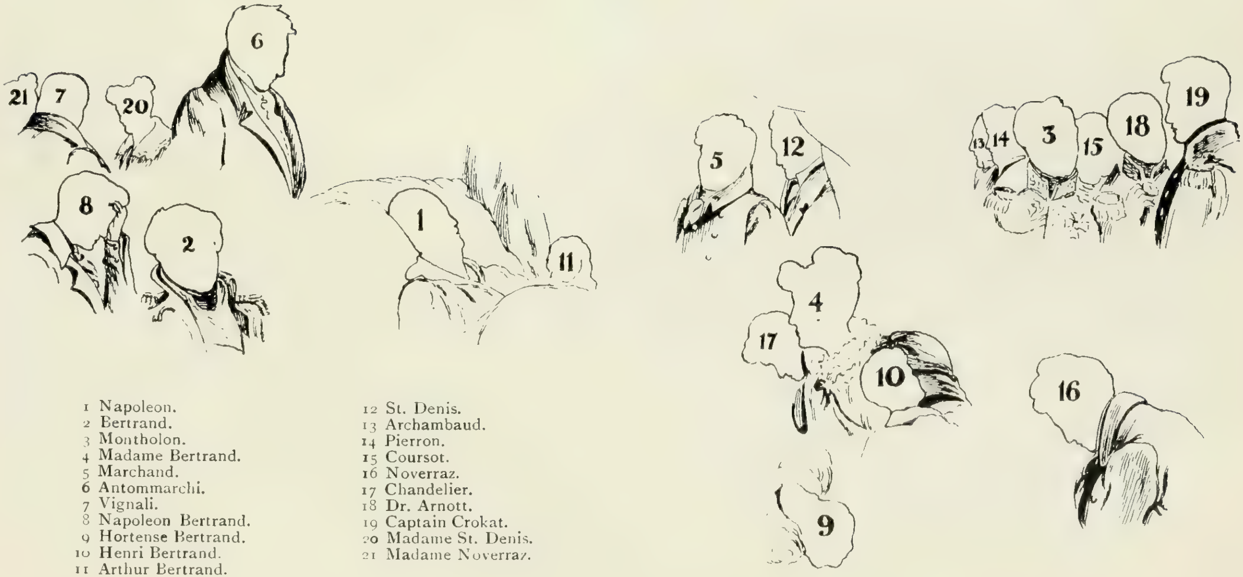
[1] B.M., 20133, p. 28.

In this conversation nothing was said by Antommarchi about the liver, nor by Arnott about the hypochondria. The professional consultants tacitly ignored the chief theories they had publicly pronounced. By this time it was evident that there was more in the case than a congested liver or a depression of spirits. They agreed that the disease was serious and obscure. Arnott was beginning to believe in cancer, while Antommarchi thought it was a case of tropical fever.

All now began to talk about departure. Montholon sent his servant to Jamestown to inquire whether any large trunks could be obtained. Madame Bertrand began to look out for a female servant to take with her to England. On the 20th April Montholon wrote to his wife: "I conclude that this letter will reach you at some mineral waters, and it is unhappily probable enough that I shall rejoin you on your return from thence. I say unhappily, for I shall very dearly pay this meeting so much longed for, should I be indebted for it solely to the death of a man whose friendship towards me has for a long time past known no bounds, and who in his last moments gives me more proof of it than any other." The reference was to the large bequests to Montholon in the will.



STEUBEN'S PICTURE OF THE DEATH-BED OF NAPOLEON.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1 Napoleon.
2 Bertrand.
3 Montholon.
4 Madame Bertrand.
5 Marchand.
6 Antommarchi.
7 Vignali.
8 Napoleon Bertrand.
9 Hortense Bertrand.
10 Henri Bertrand.
11 Arthur Bertrand.
12 St. Denis.
13 Archambaud.
14 Pierron.
15 Coursot.
16 Noverraz.
17 Chandelier.
18 Dr. Arnott.
19 Captain Crokat.
20 Madame St. Denis.
21 Madame Noverraz.

KEY TO STEUBEN'S PICTURE

Napoleon knew that he was dying. On the 21st April he ordered Vignali to prepare a mortuary chapel.

On the 23rd Arnott repeated to Lowe his previous statements. "Dr. Arnott became more and more confirmed in the opinion that General Bonaparte's malady was hypochondriasis,—having many dyspeptic symptoms;—the cure probably tedious because he, Dr. Arnott, could not give him that which would set him right. On asking Dr. Arnott what that was, he immediately replied, liberty; Dr. Arnott saw no symptom of danger about him. He found him better than he had been a week ago, 'and what is of more importance,' Dr. Arnott added, 'he thinks himself so.' He had eaten a good deal of the pheasants which had been sent to him, minced up with some savoury sauce; he made Dr. Arnott eat some of it before he would himself try it, and had occasionally ordered something to be cooked for him whilst Dr. Arnott was in the room, detaining Dr. Arnott until it was done in order that Dr. Arnott might taste it before he eat of it. He objected to eating some of the pheasants plain dressed, but Dr. Arnott prevailed upon him to take some in his mouth and chew it, even though he afterwards threw it out of his mouth. He complained again of his liver, crying out, '*le foie*,' and complaining of the '*chaleur*' on it. This, Dr. Arnott observed, was a symptom of hypochondriasis."

That such an opinion should have been enunciated as late as the 23rd April is remarkable. It has been contended that Arnott had been terrorized by Sir Hudson Lowe, fearing the fate of O'Meara and Stokoe if he ventured to assert that Napoleon's health could be improved by removal from St. Helena. But his theory of hypochondriasis contained the obnoxious suggestion. He should, then, have been in terrible disgrace with Lowe, instantly removed from St. Helena, and hounded out of the service. On the contrary, Lowe gave him every support. Though Arnott did not ascribe the illness to the climate of St. Helena, he did denounce the detention as the cause, and the return to Europe as the cure, which was quite as serious a charge against the British authorities. Yet Lowe did not persecute him.

There is no reason to suppose that Arnott's opinion was influenced by Sir Hudson Lowe. On the contrary, Lowe raised objections to his theory of hypochondriasis, and mentioned the pain and the vomiting, whereupon Arnott categorically asserted from his professional knowledge that they were caused by the mental disease. Still Lowe was not satisfied, and he impressed upon Arnott to tell him at once if he saw any approaching danger, with a view to a consultation, in such event, with another doctor. Lowe wrote to Bathurst: "Dr. Arnott repeatedly declared to me (for I pressed the above considerations upon him) that he saw no impending danger, no motive to ask for a consultation. If he did see any danger he would immediately on his own account acquaint me of it. He had told Dr. Antommarchi that he thought the disorder hypochondriasis. Dr. Antommarchi had expressed the same opinion to him. He (Dr. Arnott), however, had not stated this as his opinion to the followers of General Bonaparte, but he supposed as of course that Dr. Antommarchi repeated to them what he said."

Sir Hudson Lowe did not interfere with Dr. Arnott's opinion, except to suggest that he should be prepared for the possibility that the case might prove more serious than at present the doctor would allow; that is precisely the opposite attitude to that which has been ascribed to him. It was, and still is, his fate to be accused of conduct the reverse of that which he had, in fact, adopted.

When Napoleon asked Arnott to say plainly what he thought was the trouble the surgeon replied, indigestion or dyspepsia. So, in our own day, the doctor does not tell the patient it is all "imagination" or "nerves," but imparts that information to the sick man's relatives. But Arnott overdid the professional custom. He told Lowe it was a case of hypochondriasis, he told Napoleon it was dyspepsia, and he told his colleague it was either fate or cancer, but that he should give out it was hypochondriasis. Antommarchi kept repeating, for public information, that it was a case of chronic hepatitis; he scorned the cancer idea; acquiesced, from professional loyalty, in Arnott's assertions about the hypochondriasis; but his own diagnosis was gastric fever. Napoleon for his part insisted that the disease was in the liver, and was caused by the climate, but he had long been convinced it was cancer. Lowe did not believe in the hypochondriasis, but suspected cancer; and he was—as usual—right, and also—as usual—the only honest one of the party.

On the 24th April Napoleon was writing out and signing several codicils to his will. Next day the vomiting was so severe and the prostration so great that Arnott was forced to admit the case was serious. On the 26th Napoleon dictated instructions to his executors. On the 27th he signed his name on the envelopes containing these papers. He gave Arnott 600 napoleons and a gold snuff-box on which he had scratched with a penknife the letter N. He dictated to Montholon a letter that was to be sent to the Governor after his death:

"Monsieur le Gouverneur. The Emperor Napoleon breathed his last on the , after a long and painful illness. I have the honour to communicate this intelligence to you.

"He has authorized me to communicate to you, if such be your desire, his last wishes. I beg you to inform me what are the arrangements prescribed by your Government for the transportation of his remains to France, and also with regard to the persons of his suite.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"COUNT MONTHOLON."[1]

"When I am dead," he said to his followers, "each one of you will have the sweet consolation of returning to Europe. You will see your relations and your friends; as for me, I will rejoin my comrades in the Elysian Fields. Yes," he continued, raising his voice, " Kléber, Desaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Masséna, Berthier will all come to meet me; they will talk of what we have done together. On seeing me they will once again become intoxicated with enthusiasm. We will talk of our wars, with Scipio, Hannibal, Cæsar, Frederick. There will be pleasure in that."

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 122.

There was much delirium in the last days. By this time Arnott had to admit that the end was near. Extreme unction was given by Vignali according to the rites of the Roman Catholic faith. But the great spirit clung to the body. On the 3rd May dissolution seemed to be approaching. Dr. Shortt, Physician to the Forces, who had but recently arrived at St. Helena, and Dr. Mitchell, surgeon of the flagship *Vigo*, were sent to Longwood for a consultation with Arnott and Antommarchi;[1] but Montholon wisely refused to allow them to see Napoleon, who was past human aid.

On the 4th May a strong squall of rain passed over the Longwood plateau, as often occurs, but there was more force in it than usual, and an old favourite gum tree was blown down.

On the morning of the 5th May the last words were uttered. Montholon thought he could make out " Josephine," " Armée," or " Tête d'Armée." The hands were seen to move, trembling and slow, to clasp each other, and then to fall, helpless, asunder. The entire household was summoned. The bed was turned from the wall to face across the room, in order to give more space around it. There were present General and Madame Bertrand and their children, Napoléon, Hortense, Henri, and Arthur; Count Montholon; the abbé Vignali; Dr. Antommarchi; the chief valet and confidante, Marchand; St. Denis and his wife (formerly Miss Mary Hall); Noverraz and his wife, Josephine; Archambaud and his wife, Mary; Pierron, Coursot, and Chandelier. Dr. Arnott remained at the bedside.

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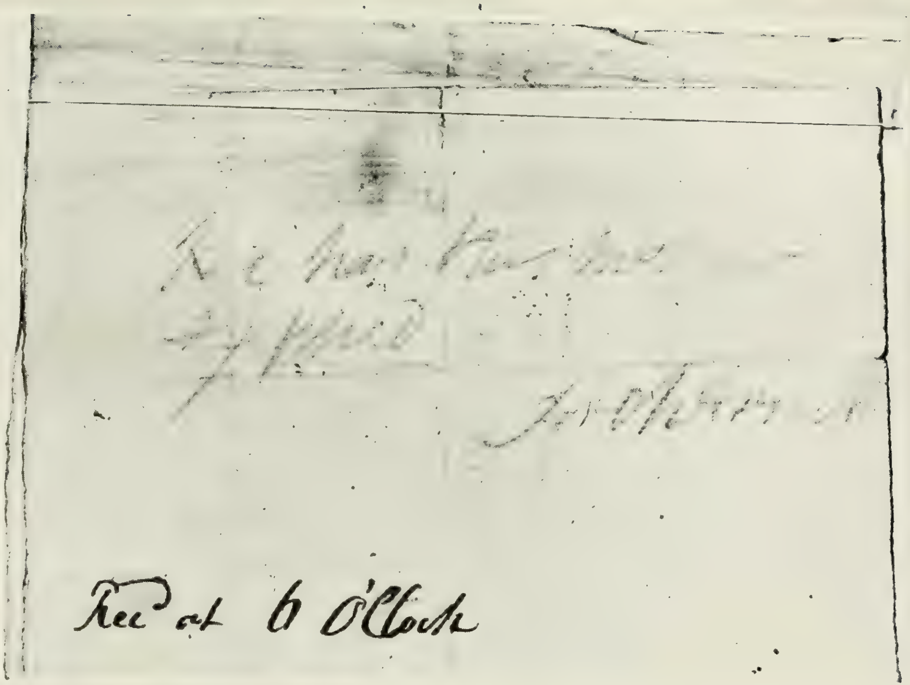
[1] B.M., p. 136.



Recd at 6 O'Clock

ARNOTT'S PENCIL NOTE ANNOUNCING NAPOLEON'S DEATH, WITH ENDORSEMENT BY LOWE

Photographed by permission of the Earl of Crawford from the original in his possession

At 7 a.m. a signal was sent to the Governor. Arnott took a sheet of paper, which he folded in four, and on one of the squares he wrote in pencil: "He is dying. Montholon prays I will not leave the bedside, he wishes I should see him breathe his last." Tearing off this square he gave it to Captain Crokat, who was in attendance in the entrance-room. Lowe received it on his way up to Longwood.

No material change was visible till past 3 o'clock, when Arnott sent out another square of paper, on which he had written: "The pulse cannot be felt at the wrist now, and the heat is departing from the surface, but he may hold out some hours yet." At 5.15 Arnott wrote: "He is worse, the respiration has become more hurried and difficult." At 5.41 the sun dipped into the sea at a point on the horizon N. 73° W.;[1] the spot is not visible from Longwood, High Knoll intervening to cut off the last few minutes of light. There was already at Longwood a touch of the short tropical twilight, when, eight minutes after the sun had disappeared in the ocean, at 5.49, Napoleon was dead. Arnott wrote on the last square of paper the words: "He has this moment expired."

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[1] Davis' Azimuth Tables. "Nautical Almanac," 1914.

CHAPTER XXVII

POST-MORTEM

CAPTAIN CROKAT, the tall young orderly officer at Longwood, took Arnott's note to Sir Hudson Lowe, who was at the new house. It was received by Lowe at 6 p.m. The Governor ordered Drs. Shortt and Mitchell to enter the death-chamber and confirm the fact, which they did.

Montholon asked that Arnott should stay in the room till midnight, to be then relieved by Shortt or Mitchell. He laid stress on Arnott's attendance until all the first arrangements had been concluded.[1] Besides the English doctors those who watched during portions of the night were Bertrand, Montholon, Marchand, and the abbé Vignali.

At 7 a.m. of the 6th May Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Lambert, and Brigadier-General Pine-Coffin (successor of Sir George Bingham) and their staffs, went to Longwood for a formal identification of the remains. Others invited were the Marquis de Montchenu and M. de Gors, his secretary; Messrs. T. H. Brooke and T. Greentree, Members of Council; Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, of the Commissariat; Captains Browne, Hendry, and Marryat, of the Royal Navy; and six doctors. All the Longwood inmates were present.

Marryat, afterwards so well known for his novels of sea life, made a drawing of Napoleon, lying on the iron bed, covered by a counterpane, a cross on the breast, and the arms prone at the sides. All were struck by the remarkable beauty of the face. "A finer face I never saw," wrote Brooke. Vidal, Lambert's secretary, wrote: "The head was beautiful, the expression of the face calm and mild, and not the slightest indication of suffering."[1] Of the doctors, belonging to a profession which is experienced in such matters, Shortt wrote to a friend: "His face was in death the most beautiful I ever beheld, exhibiting softness and every good expression in the highest degree, and really seemed formed to conquer." Henry says: "Everyone exclaimed when the face was exposed, 'How very beautiful!' for all present acknowledged they had never seen a finer or more regular and placid countenance." The hair retained its natural dark brown colour, and there was not a wrinkle on the face.

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[1] B.M., 20133, pp. 124, 136.

Montholon told the Governor that Napoleon had expressed a wish that an autopsy should be performed, as he suspected his illness was cancer of the pylorus, of which his father had died; he hoped that if that should prove to be the case, means might be found to preserve his son from the same disease.[2]

The operation was ordered for 2 p.m. of the same day, Sunday, the 6th May, 1821. The billiard-table had been removed from the entrance-room, which was now known as the topographical cabinet, the room in which Napoleon had spent much of his time amongst his papers. It was well lighted, with windows on three sides. There was an ample supply of water at hand, with ponds and a running stream in the garden.

Sir Hudson Lowe sent Sir Thomas Reade to represent him. Antommarchi, one of the most skilled dissectors of the day, was to perform the operation, for which it almost seemed that he had been sent to St. Helena.

The question whether there had been liver disease was now to be settled. Dr. Shortt had already incautiously expressed a conviction that the liver was the principal cause of death. As the chief medical officer, he presided. All watched Antommarchi with great interest, feeling that much depended on the discoveries that were about to be made. Assistant surgeon Rutledge, of the 20th Regiment, helped Antommarchi in the removal of the organs from the corpse. Assistant surgeon Henry, at the request of Shortt, wrote the notes of the appearances. At 4 p.m. the post-mortem was concluded.[1] Sir Thomas Reade's report, written on the same day, was as follows :—[2]

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[1] From an unpublished letter in the Broadley collection.

[2] B.M., 20133, p. 198.

"St. Helena,
"*6th May*, 1821.

"Sir,

"Agreeable to your request, I proceeded to Longwood this morning, in order to attend at the opening of the body of General Bonaparte. Upon my arrival there I mentioned to Count Montholon that it was your desire that I should be present on the occasion, and also that I should be accompanied by Brigade-Major Harrison and the orderly officer. Count Montholon offered no objection whatever, but on the contrary said he thought it highly expedient and proper that some officer on the part of the Governor should attend. I accordingly proceeded with Brigade-Major Harrison and the orderly officer to the room where the body lay. There were present on the occasion Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, Signor Vignali, Marchand, Pierron and Ali (St. Denis), Dr. Shortt, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Arnott, 20th Regiment, Dr. Burton, 66th Regiment, Mr. Henry, Assistant Surgeon 66th Regiment, Mr. Rutledge, Assistant Surgeon 20th Regiment, and (a part of the time) Mr. Livingstone, Surgeon in the East India Company's Service. Professor Antommarchi was the operator.

"During the first part of the operation nothing appeared to arrest the attention of the medical gentlemen except the extraordinary quantity of fat which covered almost every

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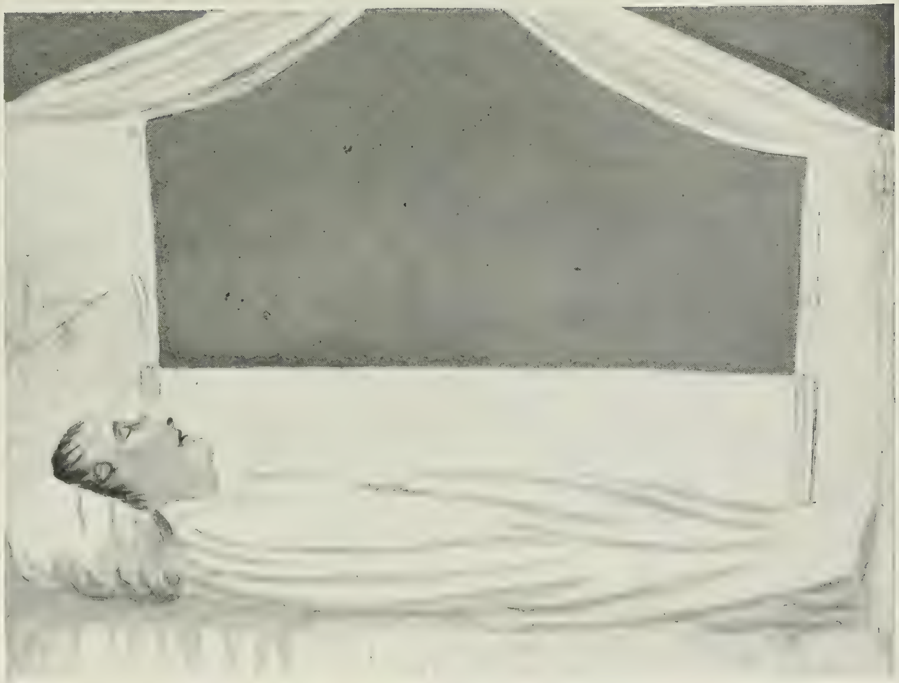
[1] B.M., 20133, p. 126.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 133–5.



NAPOLEON AFTER DEATH

From the sketch by Captain Marryat, in the Broadley collection

part of the interior, under the chest, but particularly about the heart, which was literally enveloped in fat.

" Upon opening the lower part of the body where the liver lay, they found the stomach had adhered to the left side of the liver, in consequence of the stomach being very much diseased. The medical gentlemen immediately and unanimously expressed their conviction 'that the diseased state of the stomach was the sole cause of his death.' The stomach was taken out and exhibited to me. Two-thirds of it appeared in a horrible state covered with cancerous substances, and at a short distance from the pylorus there was a hole sufficient to admit a little finger through it.

" The liver was afterwards examined. The moment the operator took it out Dr. Shortt instantly observed 'it was enlarged.' All the other medical gentlemen differed with him in this opinion, particularly Dr. Burton, who combated Dr. Shortt's opinion very earnestly. Dr. Henry was equally divided with Dr. Burton. Dr. Arnott said there was nothing extraordinary in the appearance of the liver, it might be a large one, but certainly not larger than the liver of any man of the same age as General Bonaparte. Dr. Mitchell said he saw nothing extraordinary, and Mr. Rutledge said it certainly was not enlarged. Notwithstanding all these observations, Dr. Shortt still persisted in saying 'it was enlarged.' This struck me so forcibly that I stepped forward and observed to the medical officers generally, that it appeared to me very important that they should all be prepared to give a decided and prompt opinion as to the real state of the liver, and I recommended a very careful re-examination of it. Dr. Shortt made no more observations, but all the other gentlemen reiterated their first opinion to me. At this moment the liver was in the hand of the operator, and upon my appearing desirous to see it close, he immediately took his knife and cut it open from one end to the other, observing to me, 'It is good, perfectly sound, and nothing extraordinary in it.' He observed at the same time that he thought it was a large liver. This opinion, however, did not appear to have been made in the manner as Dr. Shortt had expressed, viz. ‘that the liver was enlarged.’ There is a large difference between ‘a large liver’ and ‘a liver being enlarged.’ I made this observation to Dr. Burton and Dr. Arnott, who coincided.

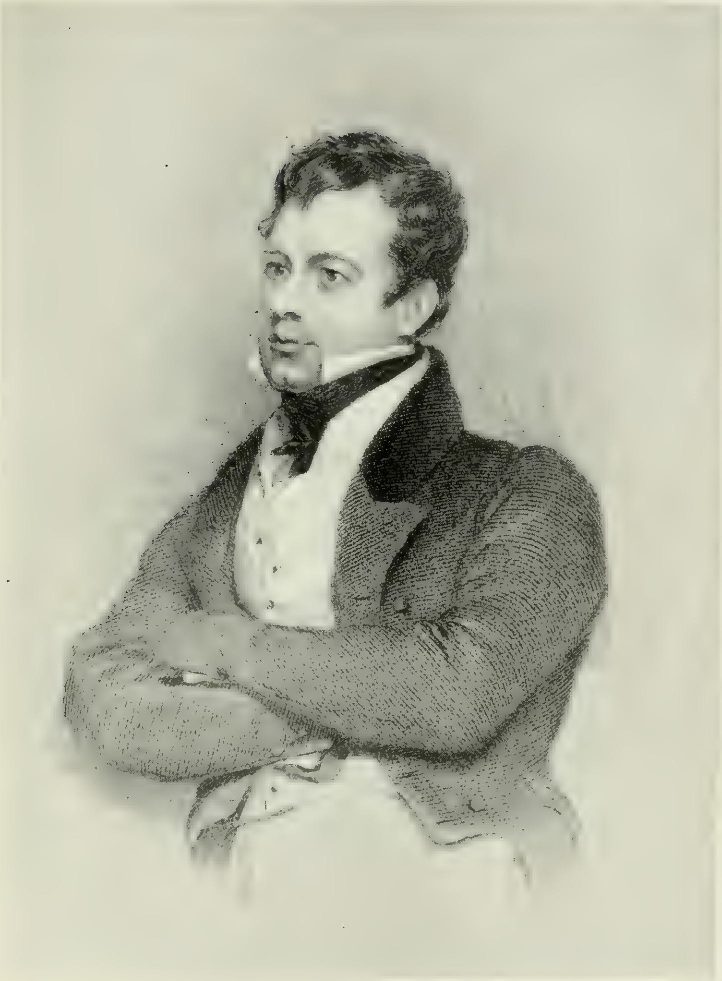
After this I desired Dr. Shortt would give directions for the body being sewed up, and I requested it might be done previous to my leaving the room. Dr. Shortt desired Professor Antommarchi to do so. The Professor turned to Count Montholon and said something which I did not hear. The Count, however, came to me and took me aside. He said it was the particular wish of General Bonaparte that his heart should be preserved in order to its being sent to his wife, Maria Louisa. I informed Count Montholon that I had not received any particular directions upon the subject, and consequently I conceived it would be proper to return the heart again into the body. He was, however, so exceedingly earnest in his request and pressed me so very hard, that I consented to leave the heart separate from the body until a reference could be made to you. It was accordingly put in a small silver cup and given in charge to Assistant Surgeon Rutledge, of the 20th Regiment, to whom I gave the most pointed orders that he was not to allow it out of sight until your directions should be received as to the disposal of it.

“Counts Bertrand and Montholon made no observation whatever upon the liver. The whole of the stomach was described and shown to them, and the medical gentlemen having told them ‘that the diseased part of the stomach was the sole cause,’ they expressed themselves perfectly satisfied.

“I have the honour, etc.,

“T. Reade.

“His Excellency
“Lt.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, etc. etc. etc.”



CAPTAIN MARRYAT, R.N., C.B.

From an engraving after a drawing by William Behnes

The discovery that the diseased state of the stomach was the cause of death disproved Shortt's confident diagnosis; then in a moment of irritation, when the liver was subsequently exposed, he instantly declared it was enlarged. All the doctors present, including Antommarchi, differed from him; they were six to one. However, the President succeeded in having a phrase inserted in the official report, which gave a qualified approval to his assertion.

Shortt tried to dominate over the deliberations. He objected to the presence of Livingstone, surgeon to the East India Company, and contrived to send him away before the dissection was over.[1] The first report was therefore drawn up in Livingstone's absence, and Livingstone's signature was not attached. It was in the following terms:—

"LONGWOOD, ST. HELENA,
"*May* 6, 1821.

"Report of appearances on dissection of the body of Napoleon Bonaparte.

"On a superficial view the body appeared very fat, which state was confirmed by the first incision down its centre, where the fat was upwards of one inch thick over the sternum, and one inch and a half over the abdomen. On cutting through the cartilages of the thorax a trifling adhesion of the left pleura was found to the pleura costalis. About three ounces of reddish fluid were contained in the left cavity, and nearly eight ounces in the right.

"The lungs were quite sound.

"The pericardium was natural, and contained about an ounce of fluid.

"The heart was of natural size, but thickly covered with fat. The auricles and ventricles exhibited nothing extraordinary, except that the muscular parts appeared rather paler than natural.

"Upon opening the abdomen the omentum was found remarkably fat, and on exposing the stomach that viscus was found the seat of extensive disease, strong adhesions connected the whole superior surface, particularly about the pyloric extremity, to the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver, and on separating these an ulcer which penetrated the coats of the stomach was discovered one inch from the pylorus, sufficient to allow the passage of the little finger. The internal surface of the stomach to nearly its whole extent was a mass of cancerous disease or schirrous portions advancing to cancer; this was particularly noticed near the pylorus. The cardiac extremity for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus was the only part appearing in a healthy state; the stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid resembling coffee grounds.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 170.

"The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm, and the liver was perhaps a little larger than natural. With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach no unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver. The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state. A slight peculiarity in the formation of the left kidney was observed.

"THOMAS SHORTT, M.D., PHY. & P.M.O.
"ARCH. ARNOTT, M.D., Surgeon 20 Regt.
"CHARLES MITCHELL, M.D., Surgeon of H.M.S *Vigo*.
"FRANCIS BURTON, M.D., Surgeon 66 Regiment."

Antommarchi did not sign this report. When it was translated to him he declared that he agreed with it, and that he was prepared to sign it, but Bertrand interfered and forbade him, on the ground that the style of "Emperor" was not used in the heading of the document.[1] Bertrand wished to avoid open acceptance of the verdict of the English doctors, with the admission that the fatal disease had not been due to the climate.

When this report was presented to Sir Hudson Lowe he

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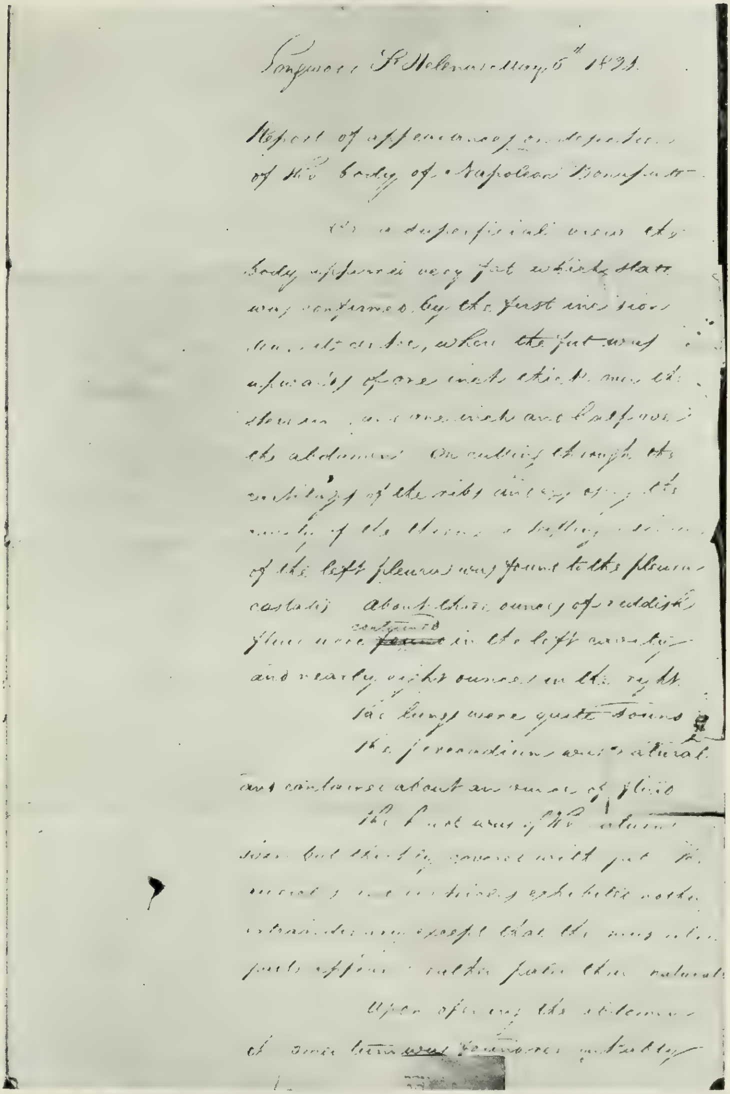
[1] B.M., 20133, p. 202.



Longwood St Helena May 6th 1821.

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the abdomen. On cutting through the
cartilages of the ribs and exposing the
cavity of the thorax a trifling adhesion
of the left pleura was found to the pleura
costalis. About three ounces of reddish
fluid were ~~found~~ contained in the left cavity
and nearly eight ounces in the right.

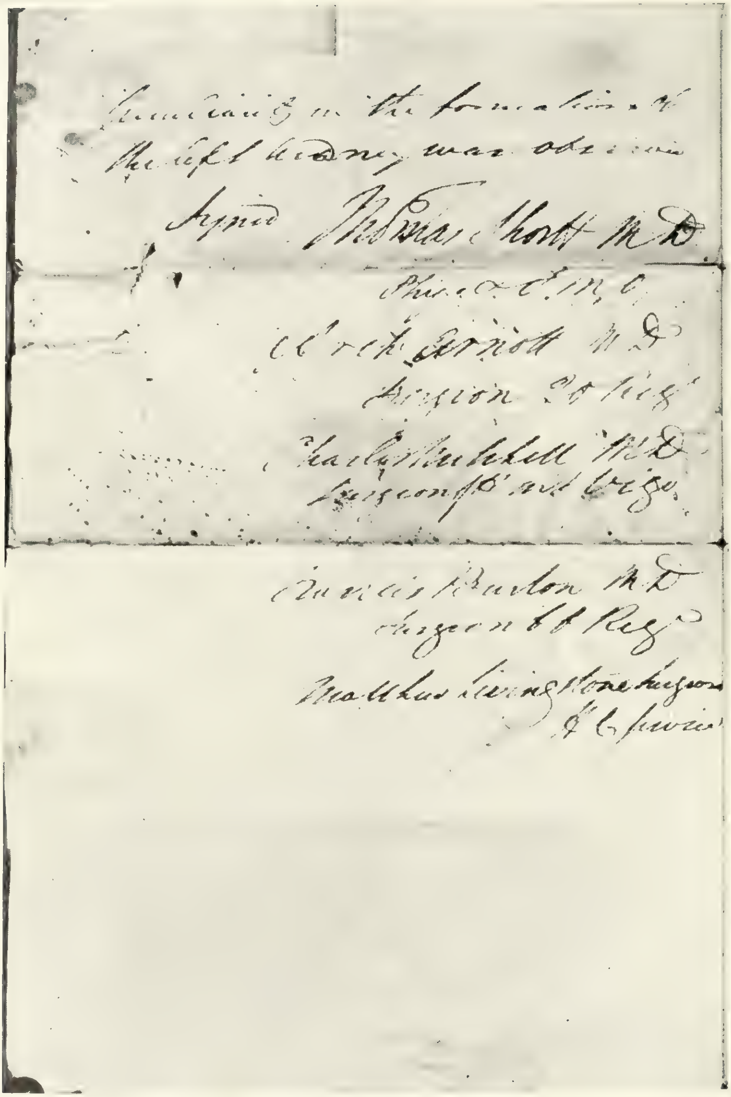
The lungs were quite sound.

The pericardium was natural
and contained about an ounce of fluid.

The heart was of the natural
size but thickly covered with fat. The
auricles and ventricles exhibited nothing
extraordinary except that the muscular
parts appeared rather paler than natural.

Upon opening the abdomen
the omentum was found remarkably fat

DRAFT OF THE FIRST REPORT ON THE AUTOPSY OF NAPOLEON



peculiarity in the formation of
the left kidney was observed

Signed Thomas Shortt M.D.
Phis. & C.M.O.
Arch. Arnott M.D.
Surgeon 20 Regt.
Charles Mitchell M.D.
Surgeon H.M.S. Vigo.
Francis Burton M.D.
Surgeon 66 Regt.
Matthew Livingstone Surgeon
H.C. Service

raised two objections. He observed that the signature of Livingstone had not been obtained, and he drew attention to the statement about the liver, which was inconsistent with the opinions expressed by all the doctors at the autopsy, with the single exception of Dr. Shortt.

The Principal Medical Officer had used his authority over his subordinates, but when the Governor put his influence into the scale, the words he objected to—" and the liver was perhaps a little larger than natural "—were excised. A fresh copy was made, with this alteration. It was signed by the five doctors—Shortt, Arnott, Mitchell, Burton, and Livingstone—and became the official report. Henry and Rutledge were juniors, whose signatures were not requested.

On the 10th May Lowe wrote to Bathurst: " Dr. Shortt thought the disease proceeded from the liver even without his *having seen the patient*, but he feels a little ashamed, I believe, of the opinion he has offered."[1] Shortt had made an incorrect diagnosis, and had been surprised, at the autopsy, into a hasty assertion, which he afterwards regretted. On the 7th May, the day after the dissection, he wrote two letters which show that he knew he had made a mistake. The letter to his brother-in-law, at Dumfries, Shortt's native town, was in the following terms:—

" St. Helena,
" *7th May*, 1821.

" My dear Sir,

" You will, no doubt, be much surprised to hear of Bonaparte's death, who expired on the 5th May, after an illness of some standing. His disease was cancer in the stomach, that must have lasted some years, and been in a state of ulceration some months. I was in consultation and attendance several days, but he would not see strangers. I was officially introduced the moment he died. His face was in death the most beautiful I ever beheld, exhibiting softness and every good expression in the highest degree, and really seemed formed to conquer. The following day I superintended the dissection of his body—(at this time his countenance was much altered)—which was done at his own request, to ascertain the exact seat of the disease (which he imagined to be where it was afterwards discovered to be), with the view of benefiting his son, who might inherit it. During the whole of his illness he never complained, and kept his character to the last. The disease being hereditary, his father having died of it, and his sister, the Princess Borghese, being supposed to have it, proves to the world that climate and mode of life had no hand in it, and contrary to the assertions of Messrs. O'Meara and Stokoe, his liver was perfectly sound; and had he been on the throne of France instead of an inhabitant of St. Helena, he would equally have suffered, as no earthly power could cure the disease when formed." This letter was published in the "North British Advertiser," 2nd August, 1873.

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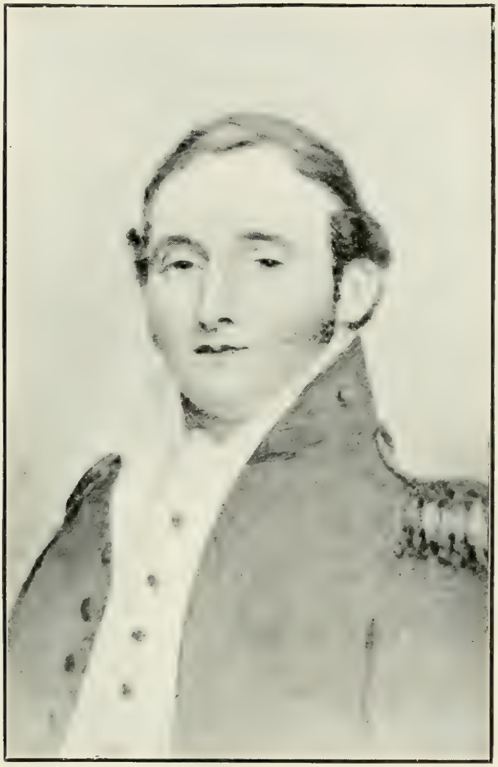
[1] B.M., 20133, p. 170.

A letter from Shortt of the same date, and in the same sense, was published by a member of the Shortt family, in the "English Review" of November, 1913: "His father died when younger than himself of the same disease, so that it is hereditary and unconnected with climate or the mode of life he led here, and there is little doubt but he would have shared the same fate had he been seated on the throne of France."

We have here the unequivocal statement of Dr. Shortt that the "liver was perfectly sound," and that "every part was sound except the stomach," and that the climate was in no way responsible for the death of Napoleon.

But Shortt retained a grudge against Sir Hudson Lowe, for having frustrated his attempt to force his mistake upon the subordinate doctors. Among his papers the first post-mortem report has been found, with the sentence, "The liver was perhaps a little larger than usual," crossed out, and a footnote in his handwriting: "The words ob-



From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

THOMAS SHORTT, M.D.

literated were suppressed by the order of Sir Hudson Lowe. Thomas Shortt, P.M.O." There is no date. The suggestion is that Lowe compelled the doctors to " suppress " the truth as to the condition of the liver, an inference which Shortt knew was unjustifiable, as his private letters have shown.

Later, when O'Meara's book had taken the public by storm, and Sir Hudson Lowe had no friends, Dr. Shortt contrived to join in the stone-throwing, in a most effectual manner. He was consulted by Sir Walter Scott, when at work on the life of Napoleon—Lowe being far away, in Ceylon—and much of Scott's prejudice against Lowe was derived from Dr. Shortt.

The cause of death was admitted by all. Bertrand wrote to Cardinal Fesch : " It appears that he died of the same disease as his father, of a cancer at the pylorus ; in the latter part of his long illness he suspected the cause of it." Montholon wrote to his wife : " The opening of the body took place this morning ; it proved that he died of the same disease as his father, an ulcerous cancer of the stomach near the pylorus ; seven-eighths of the surface of the ulcer was cancerous. It is probable that the ulcer commenced four or five years back. It is a great consolation to us, in our sorrow, to have obtained the proof that his death is not, and could not have been, in any way, the result of his captivity nor of the deprivation of all those attentions which Europe might have offered to give us hope."[1]

Antommarchi was induced, later on, by the success of O'Meara's attack on Lowe, and his own concern to stand well with the Bonaparte family, who had funds to distribute among the faithful, to return to the liver theory. Antommarchi's report on the post mortem, published in 1825, in " Les derniers moments de Napoléon," is full and elaborate and up to the highest standard of the time. But when the liver is described there is a contradiction, which shows that in 1825 he interpolated a remark he had not written in 1821.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 267.

The passage runs: "The spleen and liver were indurated, enlarged, and distended with blood. The texture of the liver, which was of a brownish red colour, did not, however, exhibit any remarkable alteration in structure. The gall bladder was filled and distended with very thick and clotted bile. The liver, *which was affected by chronic hepatitis*, closely adhered by its convex surface to the diaphragm; the adhesions occupied the whole extent of that organ, and were strong, cellular, and ancient." The words italicised are inconsistent with a previous sentence, and were obviously introduced with intention.

Rutledge wrote criticisms on the Corsican's book.[1] His comment on the above passage is: "There was no adhesion of the liver to the diaphragm, excepting through the medium of a little coagulated lymph, which I easily removed with my fingers when taking out the liver for examination."

Rutledge then quotes another passage from Antommarchi: "The concave surface of the left lobe adhered closely and strongly to the corresponding part of the stomach; at every part of contact the lobe was sensibly thickened, swelled and hardened." His reply is: "The part of the left lobe of the liver which had been in contact with the cancerous part of the stomach was indurated, and there was a superficial thickening, extending to about the one-fourth of an inch round the circumference of the cancer; the remainder of the left lobe was free from disease."

The liver had not suffered appreciably, even at the point of contact with the ulcer. Indeed it had prevented the contents of the stomach from passing out by the ulcerated opening, and had thus prolonged life.

Rutledge continues his remarks with the following general statement: "The Dissection Report was being made out by Mr. Henry from the united observations of the whole of the medical people who were present, and from the very moment that the examination of the body commenced, and all took a sufficiently active part in the examination, not only to satisfy ourselves as to the nature of the disease which caused death, but also to point out and to explain everything relative thereto to the Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and the remainder of the French suite that were present, all of whom were most particular in their enquiries, and showed evident surprise in their appearance, when it was discovered that the disease was actually centred in the stomach. Madame Bertrand (after the autopsy was concluded) went so far as to satisfy herself as to the precise part in which the disease existed, that she actually introduced the point of her own little finger through the cancerated hole, and said that ‘ Cancer was what the Emperor had always said to be the matter with him, and of which he anticipated his death.’ ”

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 160.

Professor Keith, the distinguished conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in his Hunterian Lecture, delivered on the 8th January, 1913, has drawn attention to certain specimens in the Museum which were supposed to have been taken from the body of Napoleon by Antommarchi. The lecturer agreed with that view. The St. Helena evidence, with which he may not have been fully acquainted, makes it untenable.

The post-mortem lasted for less than two hours, in the continued presence of six doctors and a number of other persons. Antommarchi could not have cut anything from the body, unperceived, during the dissection. The eyes of all were upon him the whole time. Then, as the report of Sir Thomas Reade shows, the body was sewn up in Reade’s presence—“ previous to my leaving the room,” says Reade. No doubt others remained also, as the meeting would not be terminated before the departure of the chief British official.

The body having been sewn up and dressed, Reade placed Assistant Surgeon Rutledge in charge of the corpse, and of the heart, with “ the most pointed orders ” that he was not to allow them out of his sight. Rutledge remained in the room all night. His report says: "The heart and stomach, which had been taken out of the body, were put in a silver vase by me, and I was directed by Sir Thomas Reade, according to the orders of the Governor, not to lose sight of either the body or the vase, *to take care and not to admit of the cavities being opened a second time for the purpose of removal of any part of the body*, and not to allow the contents of the vase to be disturbed without an order from him to that effect. This was in consequence of the pressing solicitations of Madame Bertrand to be allowed to keep the heart, and to take it away with her when leaving the island."

The words italicised place it beyond doubt that special and effectual precautions were taken, which would have prevented Antommarchi from opening the body, even if he had desired to do so. This evidence is by itself decisive, for it is to be presumed that the same spirit of jealous watching and close observation of all who approached the corpse, was evinced during the next day, the 7th, when the body was seen by a constant succession of visitors; and until it was placed in the coffins on the evening of that day.

The specimens in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons have clearly nothing to do with Napoleon. They would have no interest for us were it not for the theories with regard to Napoleon's health which had been built upon them. The specimens were, in 1910, subjected to modern methods of examination by Mr. Shattock, who obtained evidence of the existence of the enlargements of lymphoid tissue which are often found in cases of Mediterranean or undulant fever. This discovery led Professor Keith to examine the records left by the doctors who attended Napoleon at St. Helena, with the result that he came to the conclusion that Napoleon suffered from undulant fever. The opinion is shared by Sir William Leishman. Keith says:—

"No one who has tabulated from the records left by O'Meara, Stokoe, and Antommarchi the symptoms manifested month after month by Napoleon during the first three years of his illness, can doubt the recurrent febrile nature of his original disease. The symptoms are neither those of gastric ulcer nor gastric cancer, but of a nature which shows he suffered from a form of Malta fever, or of an infection nearly akin to Malta fever." The following letter from Sir William Leishman throws an important light on this point :—

" Royal Army Medical College,
" (University of London),
" Grosvenor Road,
" London, S.W.,

" *December 5th*, 1912.

" Dear Professor Keith,

" What you tell me is extremely interesting. From the details you give I think it very probable that Napoleon must have suffered from a chronic form of Malta fever—or, as we are now told to call it, undulant fever. There is nothing in your account inconsistent with this ; the recurrent febrile attacks with occasional jaundice and hepatic pain are well known in this disease, and a chronic hypertrophy of the lymphoid tissues is well marked in some cases, especially in connection with the spleen, and various groups of lymphatic glands, such as the mesenteric, inguinal, axillary, and others. My assistant, Major Kennedy, who was one of the Malta fever Commission, and had a considerable experience of *post-mortems* on these cases, also tells me that Peyer's patches *are* frequently enlarged in chronic cases, and sometimes even ulcerated, and this in cases in which enteric fever could be definitely excluded. Such cases also show at times distinct scorbutic symptoms and bleeding from the gums.

" Malta fever was probably widespread over the Mediterranean long before it was identified as a clinical entity, but I cannot say anything about St. Helena, though I think if you were able to find that goat's milk was in use in the island in Napoleon's time, and especially if they imported Maltese goats as they did at Gibraltar and elsewhere, there would be a reasonable suspicion that he might have been reinfected there too.

"Very truly yours,
"W. B. Leishman."

Professor Keith's conclusion is: "Three years before Napoleon's death we may reasonably suppose that the inflammation of the liver which frequently appears in cases of fever endemic to tropical countries had brought about adhesions to the diaphragm and stomach. Hence it was impossible to feel any tumour in a stomach thus bound down beneath the liver.

"It is plain, then, that Napoleon suffered originally from an endemic fever in which the liver was severely affected, and that in the course of the illness cancer of the stomach —his father's ailment—supervened, but the symptoms of the superadded disease were entirely masked by the original disease."

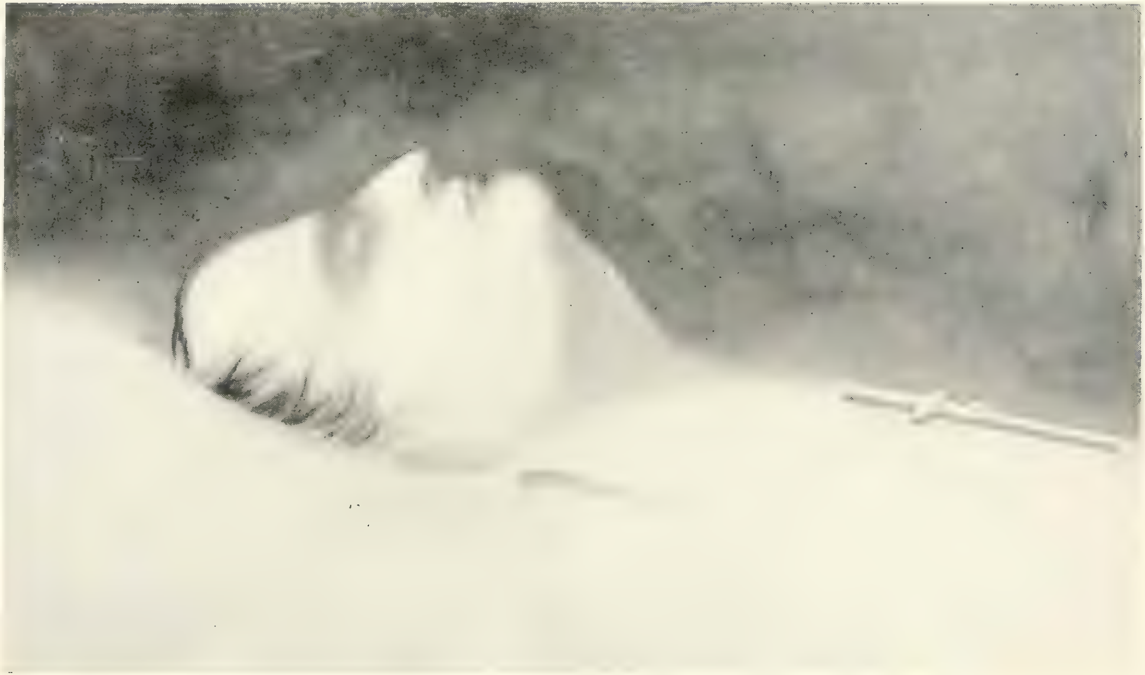
The theory of Keith is that the climate produced an "endemic" fever, which led to inflammation of the liver, and thus to adhesion of the liver to the diaphragm and stomach; there is a veiled suggestion that the development of the cancer may have been due to the adhesions. The theory of Chaplin is that the fever symptoms may have been due to an ulcer, from which grew the cancer. Both admit, of course, that it was the cancer that killed.

We have now to discuss two questions, and in doing so we shall summarize what has already been said.

1. Was the death of Napoleon hastened by the influence of the climate of Longwood?

2. Could anything have been done by Bathurst or Lowe to prolong Napoleon's life?

Undulant fever, so far from being endemic on the Longwood plateau, as Professor Keith assumes, has never appeared either there or even in the stuffy air of Jamestown.



THE DEAD NAPOLEON

From the oil picture by Denzil Ibbetson, in the Broadley collection

If the goats had become infected in some mysterious manner—of which there is no evidence—they have not infected the population. Undulant fever was, in Napoleon's day, and still is, virulent in the summer on the east coast of Corsica, and in Ajaccio, Napoleon's home. All who can do so leave Ajaccio in the summer, and migrate to the cooler and healthier air inland. Napoleon, we know, suffered severely in his youth from the Corsican form of this fever. At Auxonne, where he was stationed with his regiment in 1789, he had further attacks. Dr. Chaplin says, "It is by no means impossible that the seeds thus sown may have flourished again when Napoleon went to reside in the sub-tropics of St. Helena."[1] The expedition to Egypt, and campaign in Syria in the hot weather, would tend to produce a recurrence. The figure and complexion of the First Consul, which were both Eastern, showed strong marks of a sojourn in hot and feverish lands. The excessive corpulence, after a youth of cadaverous leanness, suggests an Eastern influence. Then, so recently as 1814, he had spent the hot weather at Portoferraio, Elba, where fever is very prevalent at that season; and we know that he felt the heat, complained of it, and made for himself retreats in the higher ground inland. With this history no surprise would be felt if the attacks of fever should recur when the bodily health became impaired, as it did at Longwood, owing to Napoleon's irrational mode of life.

The conclusion is inevitable that if Napoleon suffered from undulant fever at Longwood, he must have brought the disease with him. The climate did not produce that disease. Nor, so far as is known, has climate any direct influence upon ulcer or cancer of the stomach.

With regard to the second point, the British treatment of Napoleon's health, the dominant facts are that Napoleon would accept no doctor who was under the authority of

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[1] "The Fatal Illness of Napoleon." A paper read before the historical section of the International Congress of Medicine, London, 8th August, 1913, by Arnold Chaplin, M.D., F.R.C.P.

Sir Hudson Lowe, and persistently declined to follow medical advice.

It was manifestly impossible to allow a British officer, of either the Army or the Navy, to enter Longwood as a territory outside the control of the British Government. Both O'Meara and Stokoe were under the false impression that, with the support of Lord Melville, they might remain in the British service, and at the same time disregard the authority of the Governor and the Naval Commander-in-Chief. They had to suffer for their mistake. It was not the liver and climate theory which proved their undoing, but the insubordination to, and defiance of, the Governor and Admiral.

The health of Napoleon would not have benefited from the continued attendance of either O'Meara or Stokoe. They misjudged the case, believing it to be an affair of chronic hepatitis. With that erroneous idea, they would have succeeded, at intervals, in administering a dose of mercury so strong as to be injurious. These spasmodic and harmful experiments would have been the utmost that the patient would have tolerated. The only correct conclusion must be that the removal of O'Meara and Stokoe was the one measure that enabled Napoleon's health to hold out for so long.

Even if the best medical assistance could have been obtained, Napoleon would have declined to act upon it. If Corvisart himself could have been induced to make the journey to St. Helena, Napoleon would have scorned his remedies, and continued in the mode of life in which he preferred to indulge. Nothing could be done for so obdurate a man. He believed in fate, and awaited it, regardless of Bathurst and Lowe, O'Meara and Stokoe, Antommarchi and Arnott.

The answers to the questions we have asked are emphatically in the negative. The death of Napoleon was not hastened by the climate of Longwood, and nothing could have been done to prolong his life.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FUNERAL

BETWEEN 4 p.m. and 6 p.m., of the 6th May, the naval and military officers in uniform, and some of the chief inhabitants, were admitted to view the body. It had been moved into the little sitting-room, which was hung and floored with black cloth, and had an altar on the east. Napoleon had given Vignali express instructions as to the details, the position of the bier, the number of candles, etc. Bertrand stood at the head, Vignali kneeling by his side, and Montholon stood at the foot.

The body lay on the cloak, richly embroidered in silver, which the First Consul had worn at the battle of Marengo. It was dressed in the green uniform, with red facings, of the Chasseurs of the Guard, with gold epaulettes, white breeches, long boots with spurs, and the three-cornered hat: there was a cordon of the Legion of Honour, a cross of the same order, and a cross of the Iron Crown. The sword was buckled on. The hands were exposed to view, and their beauty was generally remarked. The face had sunk a little, but still retained its placid expression, and the upper lip, being slightly raised on the left, gave the appearance of a smile.

Surgeon Rutledge kept watch in the room all night. Madame Bertrand tried hard to obtain from him the heart. Antommarchi wanted the stomach, to show it to the Bonapartists in Europe and prove that Napoleon's death was caused by an incurable complaint, that no blame should attach to his physician. This is further proof that Antommarchi knew that the cause of death was in the stomach and not the liver. These requests could not be complied with.

Dr. Burton, surgeon of the 66th, had some experience in taking casts in plaster of Paris. He told Lowe, both before and after Napoleon's death, that he was very anxious to take a cast of Napoleon's head. Lowe approved, and on the morning of the 6th Burton went up to Longwood to make the necessary arrangements. He found that Antommarchi had obtained some material for the same purpose, but when the Corsican surgeon made the attempt he failed, owing to its indifferent quality. Burton went to Jamestown for plaster, but could find none in any of the shops. He learned that the crude material (gypsum) was to be found in certain parts of the coast. The Admiral was applied to. He allowed his boats to be used, and the gypsum was collected in the night, by torchlight.

On the morning of the 7th May, Burton went up to Longwood with the plaster that had been prepared from the gypsum. Antommarchi, on seeing its poor quality, declined to make use of it, declaring that success was impossible. Burton then offered his services and Madame Bertrand urged him to make an attempt. He was eager to do so. In a letter to the "Courier" of the 10th September, 1821, he writes: "With little difficulty I succeeded in forming the mould, but at so late an hour that a second could not be taken."[1]

The reference to the late hour means that decomposition was setting in. In a letter quoted by Dr. Graves, Burton's cousin, in a lecture he delivered in London, 1835,[2] Burton says that the search for the material "occupied so much time that forty hours elapsed after his" (Napoleon's) "death before the plaster was ready," that is, at 10 a.m. of the 7th May.

Burton covered the face and head with the plaster and successfully took off the mould, in two pieces, the front and the back. While this was being done Lieutenant Duncan Darroch, of the 20th, went into the room. In a contemporary

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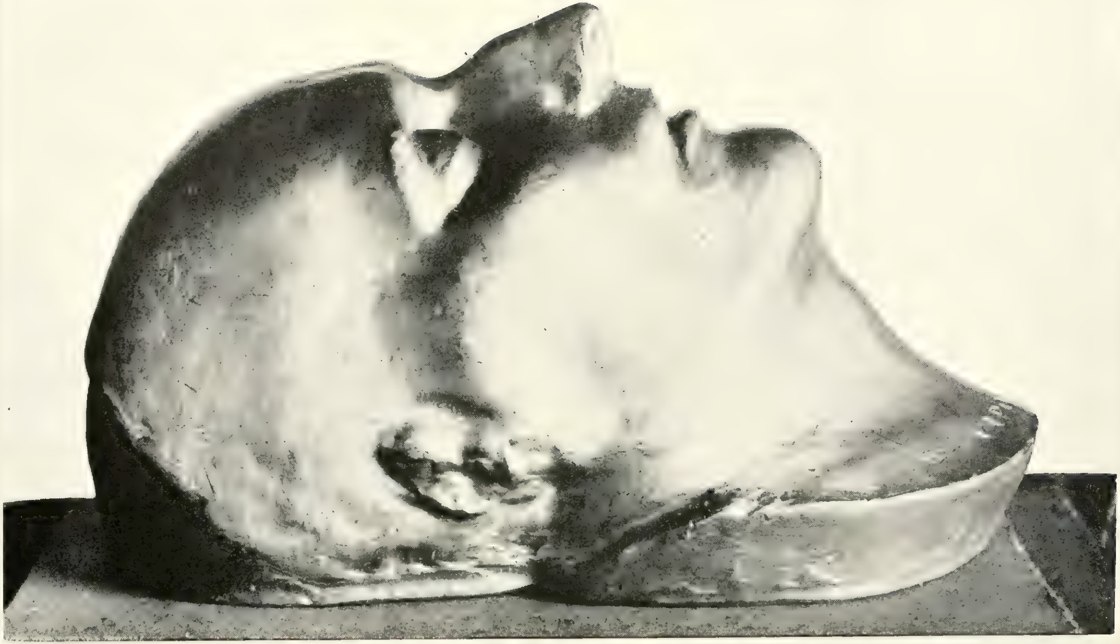
[1] The whole letter is printed by Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson, in "The Story of Napoleon's Death Mask," promised in 1915.

[2] "London Medical and Surgical Journal," vol. viii, part 2, p. 785, 18th July, 1835.



THE DEATH-MASK OF NAPOLEON MADE BY DR. BURTON

From an early copy.

letter to his mother he wrote : " I went in once again when they were taking the cast of the head, but the stench was so horrible that I could not remain. Doctor Burton was taking it with the French doctors."[1] This is dated 4 p.m. of the 7th. Some time between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. the mould was taken. The body was not in a condition to permit a second attempt. At 7.30 p.m. it was placed in the coffin. The face had lost much of the beauty which had made such an impression on all beholders the previous day. Even so the Burton mask is a striking presentation of the great Emperor's fine head.

Burton left the mould in the death-chamber and next day took from it the cast. He left that also to dry at Longwood. When he returned in the morning of the 9th May, the day of the funeral, he found that the front part was gone. Madame Bertrand had stolen it, and when Burton complained she declined to give it up. Burton wrote to her several letters of protest. On the 22nd May he wrote :—

" JAMES TOWN, ST. HELENA, *May 22nd*, 1821.

" MADAME,

" As I find that the final arrangement for the embarcation of the 66th Regiment has been made, and that it prevents my having the honour of accompanying you in the same ship to Europe, I am extremely anxious respecting the bust of Napoleon, which with such infinite pains I succeeded in forming. You will, Madame, I trust, excuse the liberty I take in addressing a letter to you on the subject, arising, as it does, from a desire of intruding as little as possible, at a period when you are so much occupied ; at the same time, I am anxious to lay before you a statement of facts in a more clear manner than I believe has yet been done. My original intention was to have taken from this bust another model, so as to have enabled me to have left one with you ; but owing to the badness of the plaster of Paris, Dr. Antommarchi and I agreed that it would be running a great risk to attempt it until we arrived in England. As, however, you have yourself, and others have also, informed me that your landing in England is not by any means certain, my wish naturally is to have the bust in my own possession, at the same time, I most solemnly promise, *upon my honour, that you shall have one of the best that can be executed on my arrival in London, and left for you there, or sent to any part of the world you may point out.* This, Madame, every one agrees with me is as much as can be expected, seeing that the bust could not have been taken had it not been for my exertions.

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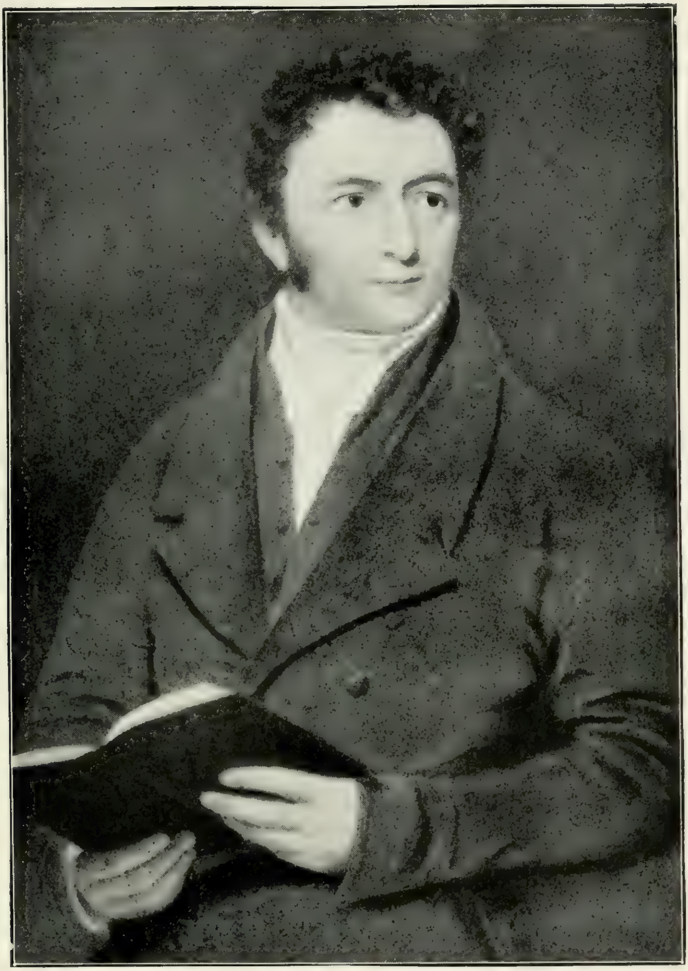
[1] *"* Lancashire Fusiliers' Annual," 1904, p. 12.

"It is rumoured here that Dr. Antommarchi intends taking it to Italy. Respecting any claim he can have to it, you, Madame, Count Montholon, Dr. Rutledge, and Mr. Payne, the portrait painter, and some others who were in the room at the time, are aware that he refused even to attempt it, as he said it could not possibly succeed, but finding that I was succeeding, he then lent his assistance. I shall, notwithstanding, with the greatest pleasure let him have a bust, *but I positively protest against his having the original.* The world will certainly agree with me that it would be a great injustice were I not to get both the credit and possession of my own work. As well, indeed, Madame, might the portrait be taken from the artist who executed it a little before I succeeded in the cast. I beg also to mention to you that I am in possession of the back part of the head, without which the bust will be imperfect in those parts which mark so strongly the character of a great man. On considering this statement of facts, I trust you, Madame, will not refuse to send me the bust, and I beg leave to repeat, in an equally solemn manner, the promise I have given above, that you and Dr. Antommarchi shall each have the best that can be executed in London.

"I have the honour to be, Madame,
"With profound respect,
"Your most humble servant,
"FRANCIS BURTON, M.D.,
"Surgeon, 66th Regiment."



From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

FRANCIS BURTON, M.D.

This letter availed nothing. Burton then wrote to Bertrand that he would not insist upon keeping the original cast, if he were allowed to take a copy of it—a generous offer. The answer was a repudiation of his right to the cast, on the ground that he had merely assisted Antommarchi, who was now put forward as the author of the work.

Lowe reported to Bathurst, on the 13th June, 1821: "Dr. Burton has not been very well used by the Count and Countess Bertrand. They wished to have a cast of General Bonaparte's head in plaster of Paris. Professor Antommarchi undertook to have it done, but could not succeed. Dr. Burton by a happy combination of skill and patience succeeded, though with very indifferent materials, in obtaining an almost perfect cast. The Bertrands have kept the face. Dr. Burton has preserved the back of the skull or craniological part."[1]

When he arrived in London, Burton made attempts to set the law in motion, but Mr. Birnie, the Bow Street magistrate to whom he applied, said that the matter was outside his jurisdiction. Burton's cast was kept by the Bertrands and descended to Hortense, Madame Thayer, from whom it went to Prince Victor Napoleon.[2]

Antommarchi was allowed to take a copy. Burton died in 1828. Five years later, in 1833, Antommarchi announced by letters and circulars that he alone was the author of the work; and he succeeded in selling the right to reproduce his copy to two French firms. Numerous copies have been made which have found their way all over the world.

The mask of commerce has, owing to the theft of Madame Bertrand and the fraud of Antommarchi, been regarded as the result of the Corsican surgeon's skill, until quite recent times. Dr. Graves exposed the pretensions of Antommarchi in 1835, but his lecture before a learned society passed unnoticed, and Lowe's dispatch to Bathurst, and Burton's letter to the "Courier," were unknown or forgotten. Lord Rosebery in "Napoleon, the Last Phase," published in 1900, made a reference to Burton's claim. Then, in 1909, Frédéric Masson gave attention to the subject, and with the help of the Graves lecture, reinstated Dr. Burton as the maker of the mask.[1]

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[1] B.M., 20140, p. 115.

[2] Watson, "Napoleon's Death Mask," p. 158.

The Rev. Mr. Boys took with him from St. Helena, in 1829, a cast which he asserted had been taken from the face of Napoleon by Rubidge, the portrait painter, on the 7th May, 1821. That, as we know, was not the case. There was no second impression taken from the body. Mr. Watson[2] thinks that Rubidge took a mould from Burton's cast while it was drying at Longwood; and from that mould made the cast which came into the possession of Mr. Boys. It now belongs to Dr. Sankey, of Oxford, the grandson of Mr. Boys.

On the morning of the 7th May the public were freely admitted to view the body. People passed through the room, with bowed head and respectful demeanour, in large numbers.

The armourer-sergeant of the St. Helena Artillery, Abraham Millington, made the tin coffin, which was lined throughout, on base, lid, and sides, with white silk stuffed with cotton. There was a raised back, with a pillow for the head. The tin coffin was enclosed in a shell of mahogany made by Metcalfe, a cabinet-maker, who had made several pieces of furniture at Longwood.[3]

At 7.30 p.m. of the 7th the body, dressed as at first, was placed in the coffin, in the presence of all the French followers. The mahogany lined with tin was enclosed in a lead covering. Surgeon Rutledge superintended, assisted by Sergeant Millington, upholsterer Darling, and private Levy of the 20th. The three-cornered hat was laid across the thighs; the silver urn filled with spirit, containing the heart, and another vessel containing the

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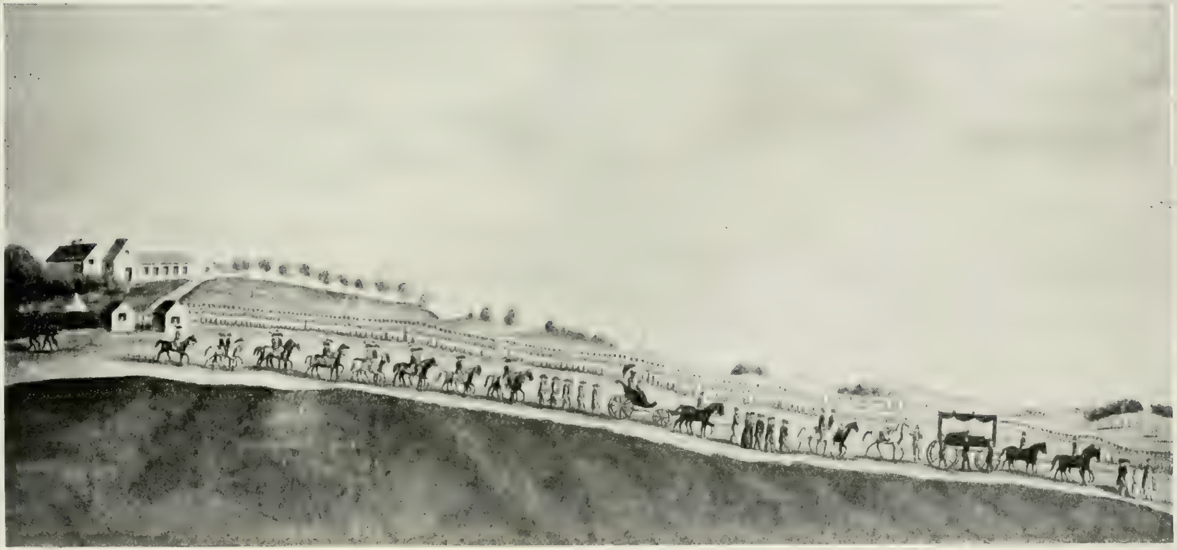
[1] "Autour de Sainte-Hélène. Première Séries. Le cas du chirurgien Antommarchi."

[2] Watson, op. cit., p. 161 *et seq.*

[3] Local tradition, obtained in February, 1914.



NAPOLEON'S FUNERAL: THE PROCESSION LEAVING LONGWOOD

From a mezzotint, after Marryat

stomach, were placed between the legs, below the knees. A silver plate, a silver-handled knife and fork, and twelve gold coins and three of silver, of the French Empire and Kingdom of Italy, were also placed in the coffin, and Rutledge added a plate on which he had written his name. The lid of the tin coffin was soldered down, the wooden screwed down, and the lead soldered; all were then enclosed in a coffin of mahogany.[1]

The orders sent out with Cockburn stated that, in case of death, the body of Napoleon was to be brought to England. Napoleon protested to Arnott that it would be an eternal shame to England to have his body interred in London, that his ashes would rise up against the nation: he wished to be buried in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise, in Paris, between Masséna and Lefebvre. It had by that time already been decided that he was to be buried in St. Helena, but Arnott asserted that he was confident that Napoleon died with the impression that his body would be sent to England.[2] In his will he expressed the wish to be buried " on the borders of the Seine."

As an alternative he desired burial at St. Helena, and selected a spot in a valley below Hutt's Gate, where there was a clump of weeping willows, near a spring of good water. When the Bertrands were living at Hutt's Gate, it is probable they sent down for water from this spring, which is just below their house. On one occasion Napoleon went down from their house as far as the spring, but no further, as it was getting dark. He tasted the water in the hollow of his hands, and found it so good that he gave orders that water from the same pure source should be fetched every day to Longwood, in two silver flasks. One of the Chinese made the daily journey. Napoleon seldom drank plain water, but he diluted his wine with it.

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[1] Statement of A. Millington, "Naval and Military Gazette," 3rd March, 1853, republished in the "Broad Arrow," March, 1913.

[2] Diary of Captain Oakley, "Lancashire Fusiliers' Annual."

Napoleon may have feared an obscure burial, perhaps by the side of Cipriani, in the churchyard of St. Paul's, close to Plantation House. Parties of irreverent sightseers would have gone from Government House to triumph over their victim. His appeal for burial in Paris, and his choice, in the meanwhile, of a secluded and beautiful little spot, in a small green valley, with a pure stream flowing through a group of weeping willows, are final reminders of the touch of genius. Every person who passes round the ridge by Hutt's Gate looks down upon the verdant space, where among a clump of trees the white gravestone shines with a cold, clear light, like that of Napoleon's star.

For the grave, which was dug between the willows, a large pit was sunk, twelve feet deep, eight feet long, and five feet wide, with a bed of masonry and a wall of solid masonry two feet thick all round. At the corners and sides eight stones, each a foot high and five inches thick, were cemented on to the bed, and upon them was laid a slab of white stone five inches thick, and four other slabs of the same thickness standing upright, at the sides and ends; these, being joined at the angles by Roman cement, formed a kind of stone sarcophagus. The large slabs were of Portland stone: they were taken from a platform of one of the batteries. Another large slab of white stone was placed on its edge ready to be lowered over the sarcophagus; it was held up by pulleys attached to one of the willows. At each end of the grave there was a triangle, and a beam was stretched across from one to the other, with pulleys for the lowering of the coffin. Black cloth covered everything—ropes, beams, pulleys, the arm of the willow, the ground, and the grave was lined with it.[1]

The preparation of the grave was not completed till the 8th May. There was no consecrated burial-ground on the island, as no Bishop had ever been there. Vernon dedicated

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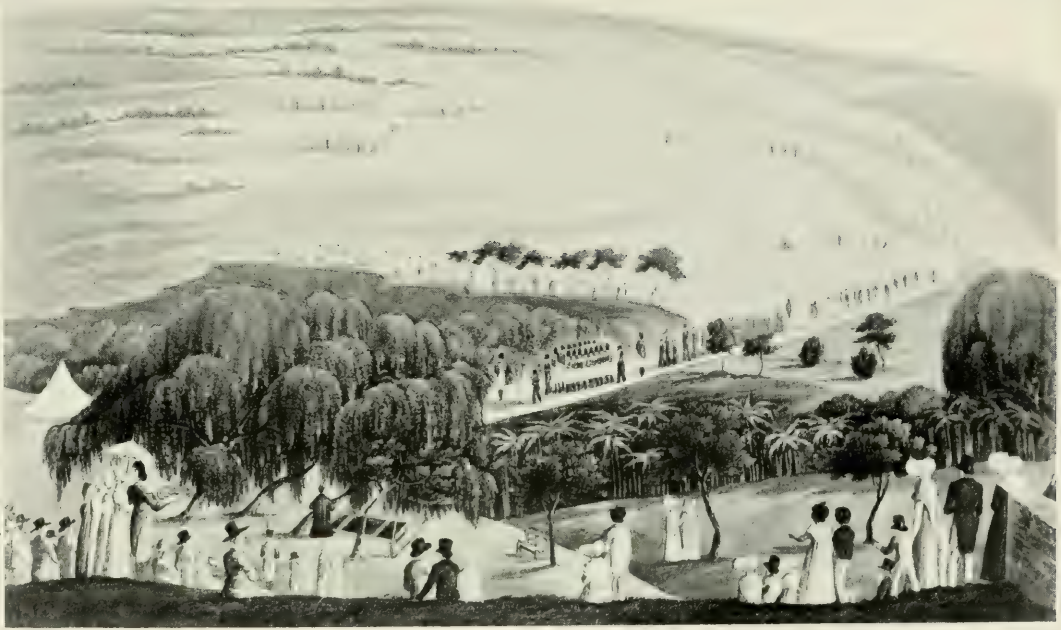
[1] "Lancashire Fusiliers' Annual," 1904, Letters by Lieutenant Duncan Darroch. Manuscript account by Mr. E. E. Vidal, Admiral Lambert's secretary, in the Broadley collection.



THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF NAPOLEON APPROACHING THE GRAVE

From an aquatint after a water-colour by John Kerr

the place of interment, and Vignali performed the office according to the Roman Catholic ritual. Orders were given that the funeral was to be conducted with the highest military honours due to a General.

On the 9th, after Vignali had completed the funeral office in the mortuary chapel at Longwood, the coffin was carried out by twelve grenadiers of the 20th Regiment; it was taken through the rooms to the front door, down the five steps to the gravel path, and placed on the funeral car in waiting. The carriage had been cut down, the seats removed, and a flat top substituted.[1] Napoleon's four carriage horses were harnessed to it. The coffin was covered with a purple pall, on which were Napoleon's sword and the Marengo cloak.

It was a beautiful day of the St. Helena winter. At the head of the procession walked Vignali, dressed in rich gold-embroidered vestments, with a vessel of holy-water in his hand, accompanied by Henri Bertrand carrying a censer. After them walked Drs. Antommarchi and Arnott. Then the funeral car, with the four horses and English soldiers as postilions. Six grenadiers of the 20th, without arms, walked on each side, with Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, one on each side. Then came Archambaud with the horse Napoleon had latterly ridden. It had belonged to Miss Somerset, daughter of the Governor of the Cape, who had called it "King George," but Napoleon gave it the name of "Sheikh." Then came Bertrand and Montholon on horseback, and Madame Bertrand in a curricle with Hortense and Arthur, and then the rest of the household on foot, two and two. The chief mourners were followed by the midshipmen of the squadron, on foot, and a cavalcade of officers of the Army and Navy, one of each service, abreast: Members of the Council of the island; the French Commissioner, the Commandant, the Admiral, the Governor. Lady Lowe and Miss Johnson followed in a carriage.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 246.

The various corps of the garrison, their arms reversed, the bands playing a funeral dirge, lined the left side of the road to Hutt's Gate. As the funeral car passed each corps, the troops took their place in the road, in procession. First went the St. Helena Volunteers, then the St. Helena Regiment, St. Helena Artillery, 66th Regiment, Royal Marines, 20th Regiment, Royal Artillery. A straight road down had been made for the occasion, from a point near the alarm gun. It is by this road that visitors from Jamestown now reach the tomb. When the procession had reached this point, about half a mile beyond Hutt's Gate, the coffin was taken on the shoulders of twenty-four grenadiers, viz.: three men of the Royal Artillery, six of the 20th, three of the Royal Marines, six of the 66th, three of St. Helena Artillery, three of St. Helena Regiment.[1] The troops lined the Hutt's Gate road, above, and the slopes of the hills were covered with spectators.

At the graveside Bertrand removed the sword and Montholon the Marengo cloak. The signal was given for three volleys of musketry, and three discharges from eleven pieces of cannon, fired from the road above. The sound was deafening; it reverberated in the valley, and up among the hills. The booming of minute guns from the ships at the anchorage was then heard. All who were present were conscious of the imposing and awful effect of the whole ceremony, from the beginning to the end. As the coffin was lowered Vignali performed the last rites. The great stone slab was let down, hot cement was poured upon it, and the grave was filled with earth. On the surface were placed three stone slabs, measuring altogether 11 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft. 1 in. which were cemented into a border of masonry. These slabs had been taken from the kitchen of the New House.[2] Around them were some of the iron railings from the New House. The railings are 4 ft. 7 in. high, from the stone base in which they are fixed. Between the slabs and the railings there are geraniums, in flower for the greater part of the year. The whole area of the grave is 16 ft. by 12 ft. 4 in.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 169.

[2] They are now in a chapel of the Church of the Invalides, Paris.

At a little distance a wood railing was placed by Sir Hudson Lowe to prevent intrusion and desecration. In his report to Lord Bathurst, of the 14th May, he said: "Two very large willow trees overshadow the tomb, and there is a grove of them at a little distance beyond it. The ground is the property of a Mr. Torbett, a respectable tradesman of this island, who has a neat little cottage adjoining it. He assented with great readiness to the proposition of the body being buried there. I shall cause a railing to be put round the whole of the ground, it being necessary even for the preservation of the willows, many sprigs from which have already begun to be taken by different individuals who went down to visit the place after the corpse was interred."[1] Mr. Torbett was awarded a recompense of £1200 for the use of his land.[2]

The willows were already suffering only five days after the interment. The original willows have long since disappeared, but their progeny have been planted all over the world. The banks of the Avon, at Christchurch, New Zealand, are bordered for some miles by their descendants, some sprigs having been taken there from St. Helena by one of the early colonists. The guard placed by Sir Hudson Lowe had instructions to permit no persons inside the wooden fence without a written permit from the Governor. Slips of the willows have been carefully propagated by the successive guardians at the tomb, and at Longwood, and lineal descendants of the original trees are still distributed to the fortunate few whose claims are considered to deserve recognition.

The willows were the only trees on the spot at the time of the interment. Soon afterwards a circle of cypresses was planted to which additions have been made, the total number now being sixteen. There is also a cedar, and three Norfolk pines. In a corner, jealously guarded, a descendant of the original willows maintains a much-threatened existence.

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 201.

[2] St. Helena Records, book 127.

Montholon proposed to inscribe on the white slabs which covered the grave, the words:

NAPOLÉON

NÉ À AJACCIO LE 15 AOÛT, 1769.

MORT À STE-HÉLÈNE LE 5 MAI, 1821.

Sir Hudson Lowe insisted that "Bonaparte" should be added after "Napoleon." To this Montholon would not agree. The name was accordingly omitted. There is no need for any name. Napoleon himself, with his dramatic instinct, would have preferred the white slabs to tell their own tale.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FATE OF SIR HUDSON LOWE

"WELL, gentlemen," said Sir Hudson Lowe to Major Gorrequer and surgeon Henry on the evening of Napoleon's death, "he was England's greatest enemy, and mine too; but I forgive him everything. On the death of a great man like him, we should only feel deep concern and regret." The remark has been praised by Lowe's enemies, and disparaged by his friends. Its evident sincerity should condone the awkward expression. Lowe meant what he said, and the sentiment, in its essence, does him honour. M. de Viel-Castel made an appropriate remark in the "Revue des deux Mondes," 1855: "These few words which express with so little tact and propriety a sentiment in itself honest and good, depict to perfection Sir Hudson Lowe."

The death of the great Napoleon was scarcely mourned in any part of the world, outside the ranks of his own family; and even the Bonapartes themselves found in the greater freedom they were now permitted, a substantial recompense for the loss of what was no longer to them more than a memory.

The French at St. Helena were very glad to be released. Vernon writes: "After his decease, the members of his suite, who had hitherto maintained a cold, formal, and gloomy deportment, became suddenly changed into most social, cheerful and communicative beings. A weight seemed to be removed, which had pressed heavily upon their spirits, often rendering them morose and impracticable. Now they had a prospect of returning to Europe without dishonour, or any imputation on the fidelity of their attachment to fallen greatness. They naturally rejoiced at the termination of a five years' banishment, nor did they dissemble their joy."[1] They were to be well paid, as they knew, by the terms of Napoleon's will, for their years of exile.

There was one man for whom the passing away of the great conqueror was a terrible disaster. The wicked jailor was to be dragged down by his victim. Sir Hudson Lowe perceived —as he said at once—that this death would be his ruin. If Napoleon had lived a few more years, the charge of inhumanity would have been less readily accepted; and Lowe himself by that time would have earned relief, and a successor would have had to bear any blame that might then have been attached to a Governor who should allow Napoleon to die. Lowe knew that the death of his prisoner at the early age of fifty-one, would be regarded as corroboration of the accusations that had been made against him.

Madame Bertrand told Admiral Lambert that Napoleon had ordered Bertrand to make friends with Lowe. Lambert reported to the Governor: "Sir Thomas Reade has mentioned to me that you would like to know the expressions that Madame Bertrand told me that Napoleon Bonaparte had made use of to Count Bertrand previous to his death, upon the subject of the Count's differences with you. The Emperor, she said, had charged the Maréchal or Count Bertrand, in case of his (Napoleon's) death, to use every means in his power consistent with his honour to effect a reconciliation with you, in which he hoped he would succeed, that, *himself* alone was the cause of them. These are the words as near as I can recollect; the substance I am certain of, as Madame Bertrand often repeated it and her husband's desire for its accomplishment."[2]

Bertrand and Montholon called upon Lowe, who returned

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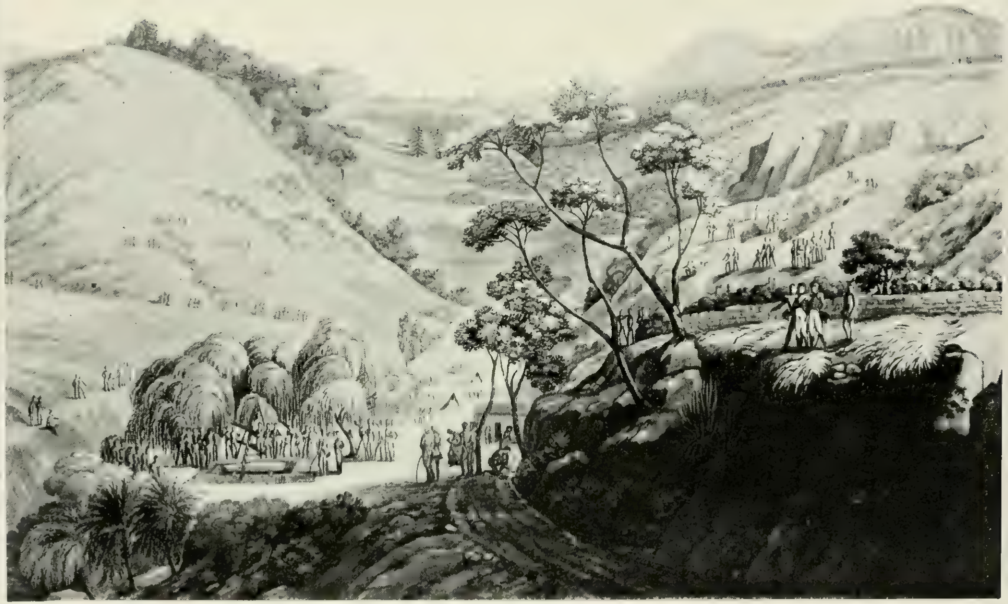
[1] Vernon, op. cit., p. 167.

[2] B.M., 20133, p. 196; 20205, p. 189.



THE BURIAL OF NAPOLEON

From a contemporary aquatint

the visit next day. The Governor invited the Bertrands and Montholon to lunch, to a dinner at which all the notabilities of the island were present, and to evening parties. He did his best to cover up the recollection of past feuds. But he wrote to Sturmer, with whom, in spite of their differences, he kept up friendly relations: "Le Comte Bertrand a fait des avances. . . . Ce sont toujours, cependant, les pretensions du Grand Maréchal (et son amour propre blessé) plus que celles de l'Empereur, qui ont gâté les affaires originalement ici, et les recommendations que l'on a reçu, sont une preuve, que l'autre a commencé à voir clair à la fin."[1]

Bertrand had been always a willing participator, and sometimes an instigator, in the war against Lowe. To some extent, as Lowe says, it was the Grand Marshal who was insisting upon his official position, refusing to be conciliatory, or even normally polite, because his high office at an Imperial Court was not recognized. But Napoleon, though he was urged on by Las Cases and vigorously supported by Bertrand, was himself the creator of "la politique de Longwood." It may be questioned whether he had really urged Bertrand to make friends with Lowe, and thus give up the long conflict. Bertrand was anxious as to his future, fearing the Governor might send him to the Cape; he mistrusted his reception in England; and he was under sentence of death in France. He desired to propitiate Lowe. "The tale was too evidently got up from interested motives,"[2] wrote surgeon Henry, who was an intimate friend of the Bertrands.

On the 27th May, 1821, the whole of the Longwood society, with some officers of the 66th, embarked for England on the storeship *Camel*.

The furniture in the three houses, Old Longwood, New Longwood, and Bertrand's house, was sold by auction at Jamestown under the instructions of Commissary Denzil Ibbetson, on Monday, the 26th March, 1822, and subsequent

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[1] B.M., 20133, p. 253.

[2] "Events of a Military Life," vol. ii, p. 86.

Mondays until the 3rd June. The total realized was £2577 7s. 9d. The books and maps supplied by the British Government, numbered 1847.[1]

The Governor received an address from the inhabitants.

"Sir,

"As your Excellency is upon the eve of resigning your authority on this island, we the undersigned inhabitants cannot be suspected of views of an interested nature in respectfully offering our most sincere and grateful acknowledgment for the consideration, justice, impartiality, and moderation which have distinguished your government.

"A prominent measure of your Excellency's was a proposal which might have been expected to have been unpopular in a colony where slavery had long been recognized: yet, Sir, it met with the instantaneous and unanimous approbation of the inhabitants; a result which affords no slight proof of our entire confidence in your concern for our welfare.

"Under the existence of such ties between the Governor and governed, and your marked discountenance of any rising indication of party spirit, it is easy to account for the tranquillity and comfort we have enjoyed during your Excellency's residence among us.

"Finding we cannot have the happiness of the continuation of your Excellency's government, we beg you will accept the assurance of our sincere, respectful and affectionate wishes for the health and prosperity of your Excellency, and of every member of your family."

Sir Hudson Lowe left St. Helena with his family and staff (Gorrequer excepted) on the 25th July, and reached England on the 21st September. He received from Lord Bathurst a letter in which his conduct throughout was warmly commended. "Placed as you have been in a situation which must, under any circumstances, have been one of heavy responsibility, but which particular events contributed to render yet more difficult and invidious, you discharged your arduous trust with strict fidelity, discretion, and humanity, and have effectively reconciled the two main duties of your command, combining the secure detention of General Bonaparte's person, which was of necessity the paramount object of your attention, with every practicable consideration and indulgence which your own disposition prompted and your instructions authorized you to shew to his peculiar situation."

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[1] B.M., 20229.

George IV, on his being presented, grasped him warmly by the hand, and said : " I congratulate you most sincerely upon your return, after a trial the most arduous and exemplary that perhaps any man ever had. I have felt for your situation, and may appeal to Lord Bathurst how frequently I have talked to him about you." When Lowe retired, the King again shook his hand and repeated his expression of approval in a marked and deliberate manner, to draw the special attention of the Ministers who were present. On the first vacancy, Lowe was appointed Colonel of the 93rd Regiment. It seemed as if his fears as to the effect of the death of Napoleon upon public opinion, were to prove unfounded.

O'Meara, after his dismissal from the Navy in November, 1818, published, early in the year 1819, an answer to Theodore Hook's " Facts," and an attack upon Sir Hudson Lowe, under the title of " An exposition of some of the transactions that have taken place at St. Helena since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe as Governor of that island." The pamphlet was a great success, and O'Meara became the recognized authority and exponent of the extreme Opposition view with regard to the treatment of Napoleon by the Government. When, after the death of Napoleon, O'Meara's " Voice from St. Helena " appeared, in July, 1822, there was a public ready for it. It was believed that the medical attendant who had all along declared that Napoleon's health was being impaired by the bad climate and the harshness of his captors, had been removed from St. Helena and hounded out of the Navy, on account of his humane efforts, with the desired result that the maltreated prisoner died. Governors of prisons, and personages in high positions, had been known to commit acts of cruelty and persecution, in those harsh days. Byron gave expression to a very general feeling when he praised O'Meara in "The Age of Bronze," published, April, 1823, in the lines:

> "And the stiff surgeon who maintained his cause
> Hath lost his place and gained the world's applause."

The "Voice from St. Helena" was a great success. Such crowds collected at the offices of the publishers that the traffic became impeded. Fresh editions were issued at short intervals. Apart from the pleasing financial results, and the European celebrity he obtained, O'Meara enjoyed the satisfaction of ruining the career of Sir Hudson Lowe, and of pursuing him even beyond the grave, for the name of Sir Hudson Lowe has been accepted as a synonym for heartless brutality towards the fallen. But for O'Meara that reputation, in spite of the efforts of Las Cases, Montholon, and Antommarchi, would never have clung to the unfortunate Governor. It was the testimony of the British surgeon that carried conviction. Its falsehood and malice were not realized.

As Lowe said, in a memorial to Lord Liverpool: "Public curiosity flew with eagerness to the repast: nothing was wanting to satisfy the cravings of the most credulous, the most inquisitive, or the most malignant mind. The highest authorities were not spared; but *I* was destined to be the real victim, upon whom the public indignation was to fall."

With the approval of Lord Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe at once consulted the Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, and Mr. Tindal, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, as to the advisability of seeking redress in the law courts. He submitted his case in August, but—partly owing to the occurrence of the long vacation—it was not until November that he obtained the joint opinion of counsel. They advised him to select the most libellous passages in O'Meara's book, and apply for a criminal information—the most serious form of libel action.

Thus encouraged Lowe set about the preparation of an affidavit, in which he denied the truth of O'Meara's statements. This occupied much time, with the result that when the rule *nisi* was applied for, though it was granted, the Court hinted that, before it could be made absolute, Lowe's counsel would have to meet the objection that the action had been commenced too long after the publication of the libel.

O'Meara made an affidavit in reply to Lowe, and obtained such support as was forthcoming, and Lowe turned to his friends for assistance.

Those who made affidavits in favour of O'Meara were: John Fernandez, Captain of the 53rd; R. H. Reardon, Lieutenant of the 49th, late of the 66th; A. W. Birmingham, late Lieutenant of the 66th; Thomas Poppleton, Captain of the 53rd; Thomas Cook, late Commander of the *Tortoise* storeship; Robert Younghusband, Captain of the 53rd; John Cumming, late purser of the *Princess Charlotte of Wales*, H.E.I.C.; and, of the French residents at Longwood:—Montholon, Las Cases, Antommarchi, Marchand, Coursot, Chandelier, St. Denis, and Pierron.

This list in itself casts suspicion on O'Meara's case. The absence of the names of Bertrand and Gourgaud is very damaging, for these officers had high reputations for honour, and carried greater weight than Montholon or Las Cases; their refusal to assist O'Meara is highly significant. And the English names do not inspire confidence.

Captain and Mrs. Fernandez, and Captain and Mrs. Younghusband, were on good terms with the Longwood residents. Mrs. Fernandez was received by Napoleon on the 24th May, 1816; Mrs. Younghusband was received at "The

Briars," where she sang Italian airs to Napoleon. Captain Younghusband was received on the 20th April, 1816, and again on the 18th June, 1816. When Las Cases was removed from Longwood, papers were found in his rooms which showed that Mrs. Younghusband had been in clandestine communication with him. There was a dispute between the Governor and Council on the one side and Captains Fernandez and Younghusband, and Lieut. and Adjutant Wilton, who were all married men, on the other, with regard to certain repairs which had been done to their houses, "not," said the Governor and Council, "for their personal accommodation as officers, but solely for the convenience of their families." The letters which passed between Secretary Brooke and the officers are in the archives at the Castle.[1] Lowe granted a part of what was demanded, but reprimanded the officers for their disrespectful demeanour. At the time of the O'Meara trial Wilton was dead. Captains Fernandez and Younghusband were on half-pay.

Captain Thomas Poppleton was also at this time on half-pay. Poppleton had been the orderly officer at Longwood. When he left with his regiment, in July, 1817, Poppleton took with him, as already related, a gold snuff-box given him by Napoleon and Napoleon's answer to Lord Bathurst's speech in the House of Lords, which he promised to have published.

Lieutenant R. H. Reardon, now of the 49th, had been in the 66th. Reardon had been a friend and adherent of O'Meara. When on guard at Mason's Stock House, on the further side of Fisher's Valley, he had been visited there by Count and Countess Bertrand. At that time O'Meara had been removed from St. Helena and Reardon was in fear lest his past association with the Irish surgeon might still get him into trouble. The Bertrands assured him that O'Meara "would be well received by the Ministers, when he got to England."[2]

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[1] They are printed in the Appendix.

[2] B.M., 20207, p. 140.

Reardon did not report the visit of the Bertrands as promptly as he should have done. He and Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles were sent to England by Sir Hudson Lowe, in October, 1818, nominally on leave of absence for their private affairs.[1] Reardon accepted a bill from Napoleon for £365.[2] O'Meara, Stokoe, Balcombe, and Reardon all took Napoleon's bribes. Reardon made reprehensible remarks at Cork, at the mess table of the 20th, which came to the knowledge of Sir Hudson Lowe when the 20th arrived at St. Helena. Lowe let it be known that if Reardon returned to his regiment at St. Helena he would be court-martialled for what he had said. Lieut.-Colonel Nicol, in command of the 66th, Reardon's regiment, in a letter of the 27th August, 1821, reported these facts and requested that Reardon should not be allowed to return to his regiment.[3] Reardon applied to Lowe, in a supplicating letter, on the 2nd October, 1821, but Lowe agreed with Reardon's colonel. Reardon then obtained a commission in the 49th Foot.

Lieutenant Birmingham, of the 66th, was court-martialled at St. Helena in May, 1816, immediately on his arrival with his regiment, for his conduct on board ship, and dismissed the service. He was of intemperate habits. He remained at St. Helena till March, 1817, and during his stay fell into disgrace with the Governor for transgressing the rules with regard to visits to Longwood. He became a Major in the army of the Colombian Republic.[4]

These five officers had all of them exhibited hostility to their superior officer at St. Helena. They were supporters of a man who had been dismissed from the Army and from the Navy. One of them had himself been dismissed the Army. Two had accepted secret gifts from Napoleon. None of them were any longer in employ. No wonder Bertrand and Gourgaud, who had held high positions with credit in the French Army, declined to be associated with them, in defence of a scoundrel like O'Meara.

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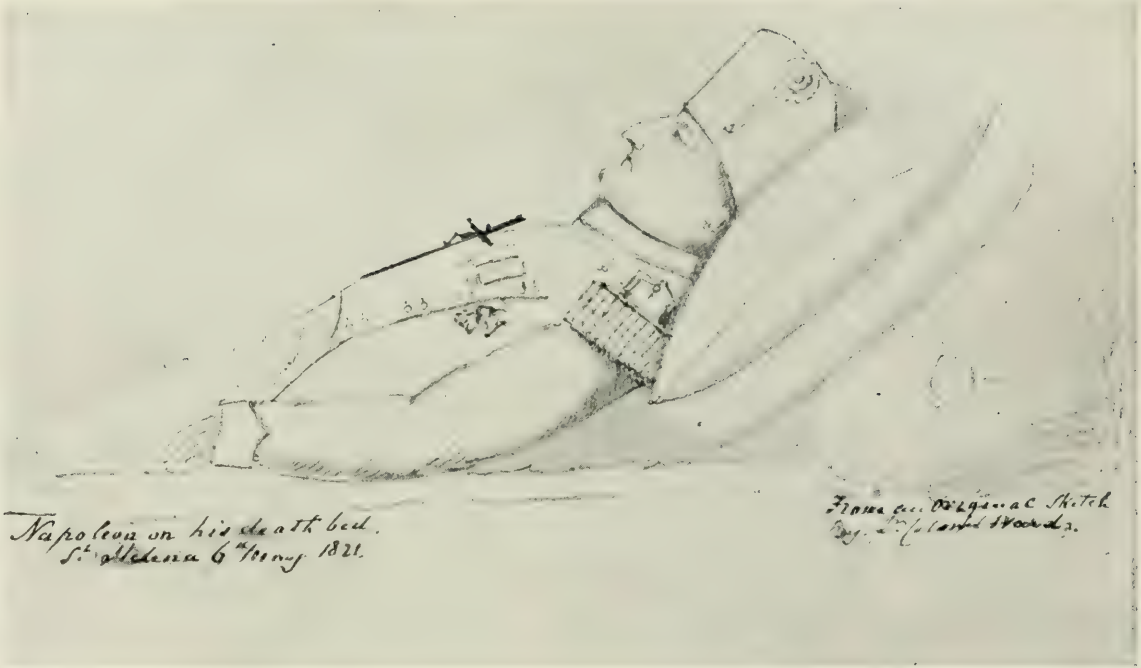
[1] B.M., 20124, p. 142.
[2] Chaplin, "A St. Helena Who's Who," p. 143.
[3] B.M., 20133, p. 287.
[4] Chaplin, "A St. Helena Who's Who," p. 51.

The gist of the evidence of the British officers was that they considered O'Meara's book to be truthful; that Lowe's alterations of Cockburn's regulations were arbitrary, capricious, or vexatious; that Lowe did not approve of the visits of officers to Madame Bertrand or the other foreigners, and expected them to report conversations, and so these visits ceased. Fernandez and Poppleton said that Major Fehrzen—who had since died—had described Lowe's conduct as unnecessarily severe, tyrannical, and horrible, and had said that Lowe was either mad or else instigated by motives of personal hatred and revenge towards Napoleon.

Affidavits in favour of Lowe were made by: Sir George Rideout Bingham, K.C.B., Major-General, Lieut.-Colonel 53rd, second in command at St. Helena; Sir Thomas Reade, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel, Captain of the 27th; E. Wynyard, Lieut.-Colonel and Captain of Grenadier Guards; Daniel Dodgin, Lieut.-Colonel 66th; C. Nicol, Lieut.-Colonel 66th; Edmund Lascelles, Major 66th and Lieut..Colonel; Gideon Gorrequer, Lieut.-Colonel and Captain of the 18th; John Mansel, Major 53rd; Charles Harrison, Major and Captain of the 20th, formerly of the 53rd; George Nicholls, Major and Captain of the 66th; R. C. Mansel, Major and Captain of the 66th; W. Kingsmill, Captain of the 66th; James Baird, Captain of the 66th; C. C. McCarthy, Lieutenant of the 66th; John Ussher, Lieutenant of the 66th; Francis Stanfell, Captain R.N. in command of H.M.S. *Phaeton*; James Power, Major R.A.; James Verling, M.D., Assistant Surgeon R.A.; Walter Henry, Assistant Surgeon 66th; John Nudd, master carpenter; Alexander Baxter, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals; William Balcombe; and Francis Burton, M.D., Surgeon to the 20th Foot.

Sir George Bingham affirmed that visits to the Bertrands at Hutt's Gate continued under Sir Hudson Lowe as under


Napoleon on his death bed.
St Helena 6th May 1821.
From an Original Sketch
By Lt Colonel Ward.

NAPOLEON ON HIS DEATH-BED

From the sketch by Ensign Ward, in the collection of Alfred Brewis

Sir G. Cockburn. When the Bertrands went to Longwood they became subject to the same restrictions as the other persons there. He gave many passes to officers to go to Longwood, and they received many visits in return at Deadwood. He saw much of Major Fehrzen, who expressed sentiments to him the opposite of those attributed to him by O'Meara and his supporters, speaking of the necessity of being always on guard against the Longwood artifices. He did not believe Fehrzen made use of the expressions alleged.

Sir George Bingham contradicted much else in O'Meara's case, and was effectively supported by Lowe's other witnesses, men of far higher position and reputation than O'Meara's little band of failures. The evidence on the side of Lowe was overwhelming, and there can be little doubt that if the case had gone on, his character would have been vindicated and a verdict given in his favour. But, luckily for O'Meara, who was standing perilously near to the doors of a prison, the lapse of time proved fatal to Lowe.

When the case was opened, on the 23rd June, 1823, O'Meara's counsel objected that the application should have been made at a date nearer that of the publication of the libel. The Court upheld him, and dismissed the case. O'Meara was condemned to pay his own costs, for taking his stand on the legal objection as to time, and not going into the merits. If he had wished the enquiry to proceed he could have waived the technical flaw as to time. It was also open to him to charge Lowe with having committed perjury in his affidavit, whereby the questions at issue could have been tried ; but O'Meara was glad to escape without any judicial enquiry into the justification for his charges.

With regard to the responsibility for the delay, Lowe wrote to his solicitor : " Really I hope the Solicitor-General will set me right with the public on this head. I never was informed, and could not know that any particular time was fixed for my bringing on the case. It was not to be presumed

I should be informed of such a rule, unless made acquainted with it by my legal advisers, and, as such a rule was known to exist by them, why was no opinion given to me upon the papers I left with the Solicitor-General until after a delay of three or four months? It would be really hard upon me to bear the whole reproach of the delay."

Lowe had grave reason for complaint. He was obliged to wait until counsel, after an unnecessary procrastination, advised him to proceed. It was then November, he had a long affidavit to prepare, and nobody told him there was any need for despatch. His solicitor failed to warn him and was thus lacking in the most necessary of his duties. Through no fault of his own, by the carelessness of his eminent counsel, and the incompetence of his solicitor, he was deprived of the one opportunity of his life for vindicating his character.

He consulted Bathurst, who wrote to him: "I have always thought that whatever might have been the result of your late proceedings, you owed it to yourself, after all that had been said against you, to draw up a full and complete vindication of your government at St. Helena, coupled with all the documents in your statement. It will be for consideration when it will be prudent to publish it."

The last sentence reveals the attitude of the Government. Lowe was to be kept quiet, to employ his time in preparing an elaborate defence, but the publication was to be postponed to an indefinite future. O'Meara's accusations extended to Ministers. No Government can desire enquiry into its conduct, and in this case there were two matters which Ministers could only wish to be forgotten, or ignored—the death of the prisoner, and the Finlaison correspondence. For the former they were not to blame, but sentimental people could not be baulked of their compassionate emotions, to the detriment of the authorities. Lord Melville's encouragement to the now disgraced O'Meara, and the sanction given by Ministers to his underhand attacks on Sir Hudson

Lowe, their representative, the Government could not afford to have revealed. O'Meara, in his affidavit in the case of Lowe v. O'Meara, openly stated that the Finlaison letters had been written for the information of Lord Melville and at his express command.[1] Ministers would have been attacked for cruelty to Napoleon and treachery to Lowe. Bathurst felt bound to express, in private, his sympathy for Lowe, but, though he was in a much stronger position than Melville, he could not desire a public exposure of all the facts.

Lowe was made the scapegoat. The Government had not the courage to give him the promotion he had so abundantly earned, for fear of arousing further clamour. Bathurst recommended him for the pension which in normal circumstances would have been bestowed, but Lord Liverpool would do nothing for the unlucky man.

As no answer to O'Meara's charges was forthcoming it was supposed that none could be offered, until Forsyth's "Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe" was issued in 1853. Forsyth exposed once for all the worthless nature of O'Meara's statements, but they had enjoyed an unchallenged innings of thirty-one years, and the rejoinder was slow in making its way. Only in quite recent times has O'Meara been entirely repudiated by general consent. Even the severest opponents of Sir Hudson Lowe now admit that nothing in the "Voice" which relates to Lowe is worthy of any notice, unless it is corroborated by a reliable authority. The book is at once one of the most maliciously false and one of the most successful, that has ever been published.

Among other rewards O'Meara obtained the hand and heart of an elderly and rich widow, whose third husband he joyfully became, forty-six years after her first marriage, which had been celebrated nine years before he was born.

In 1836 Louis Napoleon, afterwards Napoleon III, wrote O'Meara a letter of which the following is a translation :[2]

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[1] B.M., 20230, p. 43.

[2] The original is in the Broadley collection.

"ARENENBERG, CANTON OF THURGOIRE, *this*
"9 *March*, 1836.

"MY DEAR DOCTOR,

"I am sending you my work upon artillery which appeared a few months ago and which will, I hope, interest you. I beg of you to accept it as a proof of my friendship, which has too noble an origin for it ever to change.

"My work was received with much indulgence in France, which gave me great pleasure, and rewarded me for my long and arduous labours.

"You would be doing me a great pleasure by obtaining for me an accurate drawing of the cannons newly invented for the English Navy, which are loaded *at the breach.* I should be much interested to learn how they are made because I am now occupied with a new invention which is connected with that process. You will understand no doubt that whatever has reference to artillery must be of interest to me.

"I am happy to take this opportunity of renewing the assurance of my friendship.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

O'Meara was the sort of man to whom letters of this kind would be addressed. It was expected that he would be willing to sell Naval secrets to the highest bidder. He was spared the fate which seemed in store, as a spy and traitor. He died in London, on June 10th, 1836, aged fifty-four.

The fate of his victim, Sir Hudson Lowe, was pitiable. He was treated as a pariah. Men moved away from his vicinity at the club; people refused to sit next him at a hotel. He was subjected to every form of insult. Young Emmanuel Las Cases made an attempt to assault him in London "in which," says Lowe, "he did not succeed but instantly ran away and would have been severely punished on the spot for the attack, had not Sir Hudson been stopped in his pursuit of him by some persons in the street."[1]

In 1825 Lowe was given a post under the Governor of Ceylon, as Commander of the Forces, a subordinate position unworthy of an officer of his standing. On his way to Ceylon, he passed through Vienna, where he was received by Metternich, who informed him that Bertrand had told him in Paris that they had no complaint to make against Lowe, who had done all that was in his power to make them as comfortable as possible at Longwood. It is only by ignoring unimpeachable and decisive evidence of this kind that the charges against Lowe can be sustained.

The Russian Ambassador at Vienna had instructions from the Czar to accord to Sir Hudson Lowe every facility to travel to Russia, where he was to receive high military honours at every step of his route.[2] The death of the Czar occurring at that time, Lowe did not go into Russia, but travelled on by way of Constantinople and Asia Minor. At Smyrna, the secretary of the French consul made preparations to catch him in ambush and assassinate him, but his intention became known and he was apprehended.

In 1828 Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Napoleon" was published, and as it contained passages unfavourable to him, Sir Hudson Lowe returned from Ceylon, to consult Lord Bathurst as to the steps to be taken to vindicate his character. On his way Lowe stopped for three days at St. Helena, where the inhabitants received him with every possible affection and respect; military honours on landing, a public entertainment by the inhabitants, and another by the military, and finally there was a concourse of well-wishers at the waterside when he departed.

Lord Bathurst, as Lowe might have foreseen, was of opinion that the time for publishing had not yet arrived. He told Lowe to hurry back to Ceylon lest a vacancy in the

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[1] B.M., 20230, p. 238.

[2] Seaton, "Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe," p. 239.

Governorship should occur there during his absence. Lowe then applied to the Duke of Wellington, at that time the Prime Minister. The Duke told Lowe he had been very hardly used, but—he could do nothing for him: public opinion would not permit it.

Lowe now learned that the Navy hostility had found its way even into the work of Sir Walter Scott. Mr. Hay, of the Colonial Office, had been private secretary to Lord Melville during the period when the Finlaison correspondence was being secretly received at the Admiralty. Hay gave Sir Walter Scott extracts from the St. Helena despatches, selecting them in such a way as to exonerate the Secretary of State himself, and to throw the blame upon Sir Hudson Lowe.[1] If the British Government had treated Napoleon in the manner exercised towards Sir Hudson Lowe, there would have been just ground for stating that the fair name of the British nation had been besmirched.

Lowe went back to Ceylon. In 1831 he returned to England. The Whigs were in power, and he obtained no further public employment.

In 1833, Lord Teynham, at a sitting of the House of Lords, was objecting to the grant of extraordinary powers to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. "Now suppose," he said, "the noble marquis" (Lord Normanby) "were to be succeeded in the Government of Ireland by a Sir Hudson Lowe."—Here he was called to order, and the Duke of Wellington said: "I rise for the purpose of defending the character of a highly respectable officer, from the gross imputation thrown upon him (by implication) by the noble lord, and certainly a grosser one I never heard uttered within these walls. . . . I have the honour to know Sir Hudson Lowe, and I will say, in this House or elsewhere, wherever it may be, that there is not in the army a more respectable officer than Sir Hudson Lowe, nor has His Majesty a more faithful subject." Lord Teynham afterwards apologized. It had not been his intention " to impute improper conduct to, or to make any reflection upon Sir Hudson Lowe. I trust, therefore, that the friends of the gallant General in this House will believe—and that through them he may be informed, that it was not my intention to bring any accusation against him."

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[1] B.M., 20231, p. 273.

Sir Hudson Lowe wrote a letter of thanks to the Duke of Wellington, and received the following reply :

" My dear General,

" I assure you that I considered that I did no more than my duty upon the occasion to which you refer in repelling a very gross and marked insinuation against an officer, in his absence, for whom I entertained the highest respect and regard. The discussion ended in a way that must be highly satisfactory to all your friends. Ever, my dear General, yours most faithfully,

" Wellington."

In Stanhope's " Conversations with the Duke of Wellington " the following passages refer to Sir Hudson Lowe :

" October 31st, 1835. The Duke in answer to my enquiries, said that he thought the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena gave no substantial ground of complaint, but that Sir H. Lowe was a very bad choice. He was a man wanting in education and judgment."

"October 19th, 1837. 'Is it true, Sir, that at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Austria remonstrated on our treatment of Napoleon as severe ?'—' Nothing of the kind happened. Without being any great admirer of Sir Hudson Lowe, I must say that I think he has been shamefully used about this business, shamefully.' "

" December 21st, 1848. I told the Duke that I had lately read some proofs of the forthcoming book, compiled from the papers of Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena. The Duke said he was confident they would prove to be false, the principal charges flung out against Sir Hudson. I agreed to this, and observed that I supposed the Duke had scarcely known Sir Hudson Lowe personally.—'Yes, I did. I knew him very well. He was a stupid man.'—'I conceive,' said I, 'that he had a bad, irritable temper, and in that point was ill-qualified for his post.'—'He was not an ill-natured man. But he knew nothing at all of the world, and like all men who know nothing of the world, he was suspicious and jealous.'"

The Duke of Wellington was always an ungenerous critic. He was not blind to faults, nor kind to virtues. When he says of Sir Hudson Lowe that there was not in the army a more respectable officer, nor had His Majesty a more faithful subject; that he entertained for Lowe the highest respect and regard; and that he had been shamefully used, shamefully, we are entitled to take these strong expressions at their full value.

But, said the Duke, he was wanting in education and judgment, stupid, without knowledge of the world and therefore suspicious and jealous. Lowe was certainly not wanting in education, quite the contrary, as he spoke several languages; his military judgment had been proved, on several critical occasions of great importance, to be of an exceptionally high order; he was very far from stupid; and if Wellington had known more of Lowe's conduct at St. Helena and the difficulties placed in his way, it may be presumed he would not have accused him of being unreasonably suspicious and jealous. All the Duke's expressions were governed, in his own mind, by the phrase, "without knowledge of the world." Wellington thought Lowe was wanting in the education, judgment, and understanding of a man of the world.

Lowe's manners were stiff and awkward. He was deficient in tact, and *savoir faire.* Baxter described him as "a good man, but a rough diamond."[1] With the world, Lowe's

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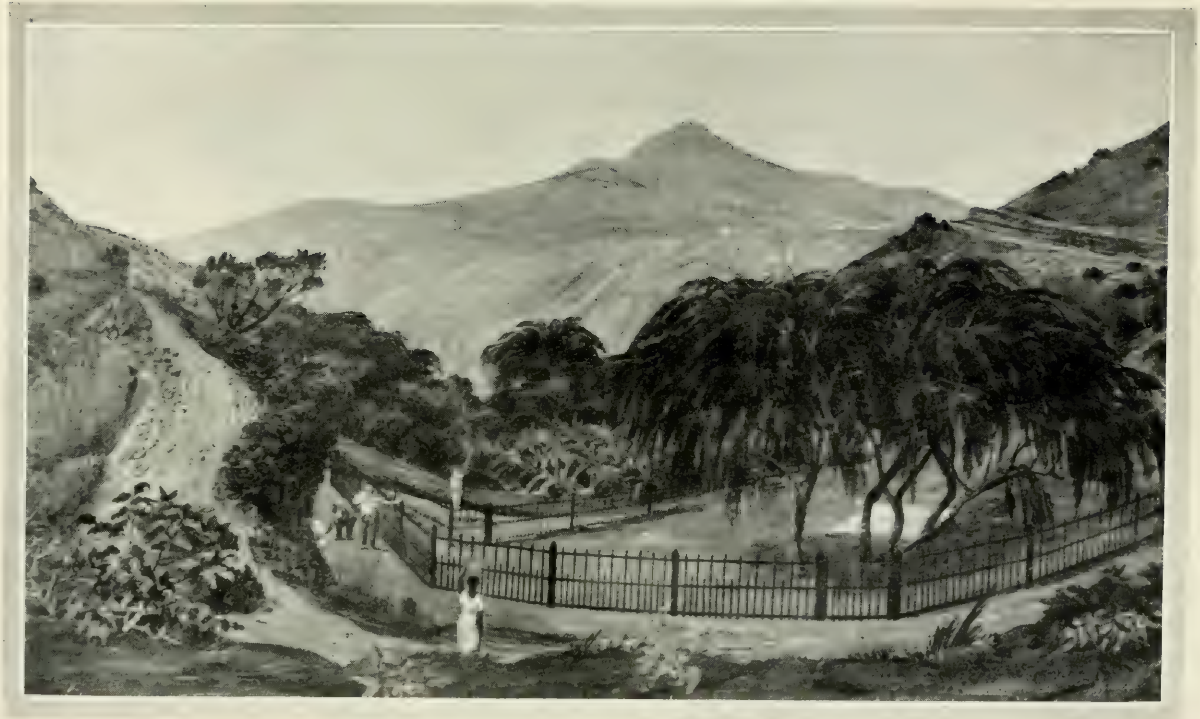
[1] Family tradition, conveyed to me by Dr. J. F. Silk.



THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON IN JUNE, 1821

From a water-colour by E. E. Vidal, in possession of Mrs. M. A. J. Lewis

particular deficiency will always outweigh honour, patriotism, public service, all else. Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who told Napoleon that Lowe's defect was manner more than anything, thought that he himself, with his pleasing presence, would have made an ideal Governor. It is a pity the experiment was not tried, for we should then have had public demonstration of what was already plain to all who had any knowledge of the St. Helena situation, that the personality of the Governor counted for nothing in the attacks made upon him by the French. Sir George Cockburn was abused by Napoleon as heartily as Sir Hudson Lowe. Sir Pulteney Malcolm would have shared the same fate. His agreeable manners would have been cited as proofs of a Mephistophelean nature. Sir Neil Campbell was described by Napoleon in much the same terms that he used of Sir Hudson Lowe.

Campbell allowed Napoleon to escape from Elba. His name has not been execrated for all time in consequence of his failure. He was not sent to Coventry; he was not assaulted; nor attacked in the House of Lords. He was not shelved by the Government, but promoted. Sir Hudson Lowe would not have let Napoleon get away. But Lowe had no family influence. He was merely a public servant, who, wherever he was placed, did his duty. He had risen by personal merit alone, to a high and distinguished position. If he had belonged to a family of ancient lineage he would scarcely have been so treacherously handled by Lord Melville, or so scurvily treated by the Government.

The comfort and welfare of Napoleon, and the security of his detention, were not affected by Lowe's lack of social polish. The material conditions of the prisoner's life would have been the same if the Governor had been a model courtier. But the Emperor's feelings were hurt. He considered he was being treated as General Bonaparte. He regarded the choice of a "rough diamond" for his jailor, as a degradation, an insult to his Majesty. There would have been some difficulty in inducing a man with the desired qualifications to accept the appointment. Tindal, Lowe's counsel, wrote to him that he had been entrusted with "the most important, the most delicate, and certainly the most invidious public duty upon which a British officer was ever engaged."[1] Even Sir Pulteney Malcolm, with all his self-satisfaction and confidence, was not willing to take the post so long as the Foreign Commissioners remained.

Lowe said to O'Meara one day that, "provided he executed what he was entrusted with to the satisfaction of Lord Bathurst, he cared not what opinion the world formed of him."[2] He did not see that there was much more at stake than his own reputation. The fair fame of his country was, and still is, involved. Even at the present day there is a widespread belief that the British handling of their defeated and helpless enemy was brutal. The fact that Napoleon was treated by us with exceptional generosity and consideration, that he was glad to be in British hands, that he fled to England because he knew his fate would have been worse in any other part of Europe, notorious as this should be, is ignored. For this misfortune Lords Liverpool, Melville, and Bathurst and Sir Hudson Lowe are to blame. Ministers were content to put the blame on their agent, and he happened to be one of those devoted men who accept abuse as part of the fate of a British officer. But Lowe should have perceived that it was part of his duty to rebut the accusations brought against the British nation. If he had published his defence, the Melville treachery towards him would have had to be exposed, but, shabby as that was, O'Meara's accusation of inhumanity towards Napoleon, which is the important matter, would have been effectively disproved.

The faults of Lowe were due to want of imagination. He was narrow and pedantic, adhering sometimes too literally to the letter of his instructions. Slow of speech, awkward, quickly losing self-control, he was at his best when writing, undisturbed, his long and wearisome, but exact, truthful, and complete explanations of affairs. The honesty of Lowe was an instinct. When everything that emanated from Longwood was tainted with misrepresentation or absolute falsehood, Lowe's unswerving truthfulness is gratifying to recall.

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[1] B.M., 20230, p. 263.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Basil Jackson, who knew Lowe well both at St. Helena and in after life, wrote of him : " He was warm and steady in his friendships, and popular both with the inhabitants of the isle and the troops." Major Skinner wrote of him : " A general impression prevailed that Sir Hudson Lowe was a surly, austere man, but never was a character more maligned, a more kind, I may say a more tender-hearted man, I never met with."[1] In his home-life he was singularly happy. All admit that he was a good husband, father, and stepfather. He was a man who was genuinely liked by all who knew him, by soldiers and civilians, and by the foreign generals and great personages with whom he had come in contact.

Jackson's description of his appearance is : " He stood 5 ft. 7 in., square in make, having good features, fair hair, and eyebrows overhanging his eyes ; his look denoted penetration and firmness, his manners rather abrupt, his gait quick, his look and general demeanour indicative of energy and decision." He was of the sanguine temperament, never moody and depressed. " This frame of mind appeared to be one of which he was always incapable. Up to his final seizure with paralysis he had always abundant animal spirits."

A lady who met him at Ceylon thus described her experience : " I was taken to dinner by a grave, particularly gentlemanly man in General's uniform, whose conversation was as agreeable as his manners. He had been over half the world, knew all celebrities, and contrived without display to say a great deal one was willing to hear. About the middle of dinner the Governor called out, 'Sir Hudson Lowe, a glass of wine with you,'—people did such horrible barbarities then—to which my companion bowed assent. Years before, with our Whig principles and prejudice, we had cultivated in our Highland retirement a horror of the great Napoleon's gaoler. The cry of party, the feeling for the prisoner, the book of surgeon O'Meara—the 'Voice from St. Helena'—had all worked my woman's heart to such a pitch of indignation, that this maligned name was an offence. We were to hold the owner in abhorrence, speak to him, never, look at him, sit in the same room with him, never. None were louder than I, more vehement; yet here I was beside my bugbear and perfectly satisfied with the position. It was a good lesson. He had been sent to Ceylon because he was so miserable at home. He was so truly sent to Coventry that he once thanked Colonel Pennington in a coffee-house for the common civility of handing him a newspaper, saying that any civility was now so new to him he must be excused for gratefully acknowledging it. The opinion of less partial times has judged more fairly of Sir Hudson, his captive, and the surgeon."

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[1] Owens College Historical Essays, 1902. "Napoleon's detention at St. Helena," by Dr. Holland Rose.

On the 22nd November, 1842, the "Times" made the following announcement: "We have much pleasure in recording the appointment of Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe to the Colonelcy of the 50th Regiment. There is no officer of Sir Hudson's rank and services in the Army who has been more unworthily used. For performing a duty of the most difficult and ungracious description with the most zealous fidelity, he received, it is true, numerous and highly complimentary letters from the Government, acknowledging, as they were bound to do, the important services he had rendered; whilst he became a mark of public obloquy of the most inveterate description, because he had never permitted himself to be provoked into the slightest violation of that duty. . . . We repeat then our gratification that the present Government has at length evinced the disposition to repair, in some degree, the injustice of which Sir Hudson Lowe has been the victim." He was made a G.C.M.G.; and he received in the same year an advancement to the First Class of the Red Eagle of Prussia.

He died on the 10th January, 1844, a poor man, and was buried in the crypt of St. Mark's, North Audley Street. A tablet was erected in the porch of the church to him and Lady Lowe, who was also buried in the crypt. His daughter, Miss Lowe, received a small pension from Queen Victoria, at the instance of Sir Robert Peel.

Sir Hudson Lowe was not the only distinguished public servant who, on returning from arduous duty on a distant station, has become the victim of party politicians. But even in that long-suffering class his fate was exceptional. The more the facts are examined, the more heartfelt becomes our regret, that this honourable and devoted soldier should have been so shamefully used.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WILL OF NAPOLEON

EARLY in April, aware that he was dying, Napoleon sent for Bertrand and demanded from him the will he had made some time before; on its being produced he burned it in the presence of Bertrand and Montholon.

On the 13th April he began to dictate to Montholon a new will. The portions written down were read to him, and he made certain corrections. On the 14th the same procedure was carried out. Then on the 15th April he copied out the final revised draft, in his own hand, spending the whole morning over the task, and exhibiting no signs of fatigue. On the same day he signed and sealed the will.

It began as follows: "This day 15th April 1821 at Longwood, island of St. Helena. This is my testament or act of my last will. NAPOLEON.

"1. I die in the religion catholic, apostolic, and Roman, in which I was born more than 50 years ago.

"2. I desire that my ashes should repose upon the banks of the Seine, in the midst of that French people whom I have loved so well.

"3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my very dear wife the Empress Marie Louise. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments. I beg her to watch and preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

"4. I recommend my son never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the peoples of Europe. He should never fight against, nor injure, France in any way. He should adopt my motto: '*Everything for the French people.*'

" 5. I die prematurely, murdered by the English oligarchy and its hired assassin.

" 6. The two unfortunate results of the two invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treasons of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette. I forgive them. May the posterity of France forgive them as I do.

" 7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, Cardinal Fesch, my brothers, Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I forgive Louis for the libel which he published in 1820; it is full of false assertions and falsified documents.

" 8. I disavow the 'Manuscript of St. Helena' and other works under the title of 'Maxims,' 'Sayings,' etc., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Those are not the rules which have guided my life.

" I caused the duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, as he admitted, sixty assassins at Paris. In similar circumstances I would act again in the same manner."

These eight clauses are of a political nature. Napoleon then proceeds to the bequests. The first provision is for his son. To the former King of Rome, now ten years of age, he gave no money, but a large number of personal belongings. Certain of his followers were entrusted with specified articles, which they were to hand over to the boy when he had attained the age of sixteen years.

To Bertrand was confided, with this object, the sword Napoleon wore at Austerlitz, and other weapons; and the gold travelling box, which had accompanied him in his Imperial campaigns.

Marchand was entrusted with a large number of articles, also for Napoleon's son. Three mahogany boxes contained altogether fifty-two snuff-boxes. Of these four were decorated with images of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, the duchesse de Provence, and the duchesse d'Angoulême, having been found on the table of Louis XVIII in the Tuileries on the 20th March, 1815. Others had on the lids antique cameos and medals; one of them, with a medal of Alexander the Great, had been often used by Napoleon. These boxes he sealed up himself, and he made his executors add their seals.

To Marchand also were confided, for Napoleon's son, the two field beds used by Napoleon on his campaigns; his field telescope; the silver dressing-case, which was on his table at the time; his silver washstand; the square clock in gilded bronze which stood in his bedroom; his two watches, and the chain made of the hair of the Empress Marie Louise; and three of Napoleon's uniforms—of the National Guard, of the Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and of mounted Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard.

In a further list Marchand is entrusted with other articles (some of them had been already mentioned, and are thus twice referred to). They include Frederick the Great's alarum clock which Napoleon had taken at Potsdam, and thereafter used on his campaigns; the three silver bottles for eau-de-vie which his chasseurs carried in the field (there were only two; they were used at St. Helena to convey water daily from the spring in the valley in which he was to be buried); two pairs of silver spurs; the famous three-cornered hat lined with green silk and padded, which was in a very dilapidated state; the almost equally famous grey overcoat which he had carried from the Moscow campaign onwards, on the voyage from Elba, and at Waterloo; the blue cloak with a gold embroidered collar which he wore at Marengo (this cloak covered the body when lying in state,

NAPOLEON'S TOMB AND THE VALLEY

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

and was placed on the coffin); the sable-green overcoat, variously called a capote or a pelisse, with two rows of buttons (this was the last coat he wore, on the day he took finally to his bed); two pairs of shoes and two pairs of boots, all much worn.

All the above objects, with the exception of the iron beds, Marchand took to Vienna in 1827, when the duc de Reichstadt had reached the prescribed age of sixteen. Marchand was also directed to have a number of bracelets made of Napoleon's hair, and to give one each to the Empress Marie Louise, to the testator's mother, and to each of his brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, to the Cardinal, and one of larger size to his son. During the last days Napoleon was not shaven, and at his death there was a considerable thickness of beard and moustache, which Marchand cut off and carefully preserved. But even with this addition there was not nearly enough hair for all the bracelets, as Napoleon must have known. This direction in the will must be regarded as a repetition of the seventh clause, an expression of affection towards his relations. Marchand was also to send a pair of Napoleon's gold shoe-buckles to Joseph, a small pair of the same to Lucien, and a gold collar-clasp to Jerome. Louis, whose son was to restore the Napoleonic dynasty, was excluded.

To Montholon was given, on behalf of the duc de Reichstadt, other articles, beginning with the sabre of Sobieski which Napoleon wore at Aboukir, and which was in the hands of Bertrand. This had originally been left with Bertrand, a provision now referred to " as a mistake," which shows how much Bertrand was out of favour. He was entrusted with the Austerlitz sword, but with little else, and even the Aboukir sword, though it had been long in his keeping, was now to be given up to Montholon.

Montholon was entrusted with the small cabinet of medals, the plate, and the beautiful Sèvres china, for the duc de Reichstadt. The boy was also to be given a number of articles which the Emperor had left in France with the Count de Turenne. He was to have three swords, the collars of the Legion of Honour and the Golden Fleece, the hat and cap of Henri IV, the gold dressing-box for the teeth. The Empress Marie Louise was to have the lace. To his mother Napoleon gave his silver night lamp, to Cardinal Fesch the small travelling box, to Eugène the silver-gilt candlestick, to Pauline the small travelling box, to Caroline a small Turkey carpet, to Hortense a small Turkey carpet, to Joseph and Lucien each an embroidered mantle, with vest and small-clothes, to Jerome the handle of an antique sabre. Louis is again excluded.

Napoleon entrusted to Noverraz his three saddles and bridles, the spurs he used at St. Helena, and his five fowling-pieces, for the duc de Reichstadt. To St. Denis, his librarian and amanuensis, four hundred volumes from his library to be selected from those Napoleon had used the most, were confided, for the duc de Reichstadt. None of the articles which Napoleon had used were to be sold; any that had not been mentioned were to be divided between his executors and his brothers.

These dispositions exhibit the family affections of Napoleon, his desire that his memory should long be kept alive among his relations; that no stranger in blood, however great his services or warm his devotion, should touch any article that had become associated with the personality of the chief of the Bonaparte clan. The only article he left outside his family was the gold snuff-box with a valuable antique cameo set in the lid, which Pius VI gave him at Tolentino in 1797; this he bequeathed to Lady Holland, "témoignage de satisfaction et d'estime."

The pecuniary legacies may be summarized as follows:—

Members of his household—Montholon, 2,000,000 francs; Bertrand, 500,000; Marchand, 400,000; St. Denis, Noverraz, Pierron, Vignali, 100,000 each; Archambaud, 50,000; Coursot and Chandelier, who had served only since September, 1819, 25,000 each. The one resident of the house who obtained nothing was Antommarchi.

Of those who had left the Longwood circle, Las Cases only was remembered, with a donation of 100,000 francs. Gourgaud was not mentioned; he was in receipt of a pension of £480 a year. O'Meara also obtained nothing; he had already been well paid.

To twenty-one other persons Napoleon left 100,000 francs each. Most of the legatees had suffered for their loyalty to him. Where a legatee was dead it was provided that the money should go to his widow or children. Generals Mouton Duvernet and Labédoyère had been shot for the assistance they gave Napoleon in 1815; their children received the legacies. Others named were Generals Lavalette, Lallemand, Clausel, and Lefevre-Desnouettes, who had all been condemned to death but had contrived to escape; General Travot, condemned to death, but the sentence was transmuted to imprisonment; General Brayer and Colonel Marbot, who were banished. Napoleon desired Marbot to "continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies," which he did most effectively, for his "Memoirs" are very entertaining volumes of military adventure. Generals Drouot and Cambronne had passed through the dreary existence at Elba, and had been present at Waterloo. Tried for high treason, they were acquitted, as also was General Marchand, who had not given satisfaction by his behaviour at Grenoble. Réal, Arnault, and Bignon had also been persecuted by the Bourbon Government. Larrey, whom Napoleon described as "the most virtuous man I have known," was surgeon-in-chief to the Imperial Army; a staunch Bonapartist, he was entrusted with materials for his standard work on "Madame Mère." General Girard died of wounds received at Ligny. Emery was surgeon to the Guard at Elba; a native of Grenoble, he had assured Napoleon of the loyalty to him of that town, and he had been of great service during the march to Paris. Costa di Bastelica was a Corsican peasant who had, in the year 1793, in the absence of Napoleon, warned Letizia Bonaparte that an attack was about to be made upon the Bonaparte house. Meneval had been his secretary, and was a most staunch adherent. Poggi di Talavo was the judge at Elba.

The legacies amounted altogether to 5,600,000 francs. The executors, Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand, were to obtain the funds from "the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris and the interest at 5 per cent from July, 1815." The surplus was to be divided among the wounded at Waterloo and "the officers and soldiers of the island of Elba." It is a curious fact that the sum really placed with Laffite was only 4,230,000 francs, and that Napoleon had at Longwood Laffite's receipt for that amount only.

Montholon says[1] that he found among Napoleon's papers a pencil note which he had reason to believe referred to the first will. According to that paper 150,000 francs each went to Bertrand, his wife and three children, making 750,000 in all to the Bertrand family, while Montholon and his wife and two children with 150,000 each, received only 600,000 in all. The great change that had occurred in Napoleon's feelings in the last months of his life is shown by the reduction in the legacy to Bertrand from 750,000 francs to 500,000 francs, and the increase in the bequest to Montholon from 600,000 to 2,000,000 francs. According to Montholon, Marchand was given only 150,000 francs in the first will, while he had risen so much in favour towards the end that he was given in the last will 400,000 francs. Saint Denis in the first will was given 50,000 only, Noverraz and Pierron 30,000 each; Archambaud 20,000, Coursot and Chandelier, 10,000 each. Others mentioned in both wills were Las Cases, Lavalette, Drouot, Cambronne, Brayer, Lefevre-Desnouettes, Réal, Larrey, Costa di Bastelica, Poggi, Emery, Arnault, Mouton-Duvernet, Clausel, Travot, Labédoyère, and Girard. But the first will contained some names which were afterwards omitted, more, one supposes, from forgetfulness than by design: Bassano, Ornano, Friant, Fain, Mallet, Arrighi, and Madame Montesquiou. Only one of these, and he the most worthless of them all, was afterwards mentioned in a codicil, Arrighi, the Vicar-General at Elba. Bassano, the most thoroughgoing of all Napoleon's partisans, Ornano as near a relation as Arrighi, Friant, who was wounded at Waterloo, Fain his secretary, Mallet the colonel of the Guard at Elba, and Madame Montesquiou the devoted attendant on the little King of Rome, were not again mentioned.

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[1] "Récits," ii. 504.

The will was, even in its pecuniary legacies, touched with the spirit of manifesto. Napoleon was rewarding, not those who had served him best, but those who had been attacked by the Government of the Second Restoration. He was showing that he could still, even after death, do something to keep up the spirit of opposition to the Bourbons.

Another political disposition was that of his "private domain," which he considered "ought to amount to more than 200,000,000 francs" (£8,000,000). He said that he had saved 12,000,000 francs per annum out of his Civil List for fourteen years, and these savings together with interest and the proceeds of the furniture and valuables in his various palaces in France and Italy, which had also been bought by himself with savings from the Civil List, would supply the 200,000,000 francs.

This imaginary sum he divided as to one half among the officers and soldiers who had fought from 1792 to 1815, in proportion to the length of their service in the field. From the other half was first to be taken one million francs for the town of Brienne, and another million francs for the town of Mery; the remainder was to be divided among those towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche Comté, Burgundy, Isle de France, Champagne, Dauphiné, which might have suffered by the invasions of 1814 and 1815.

Who would have believed that any part of this fantastic bequest would be carried out by another Emperor Napoleon? Certainly not the Great Napoleon, whose object in dividing sums which he knew were not at his disposal, was to stimulate the loyalty of his old soldiers, and to show his concern for the districts which had suffered in the wars.

As a further pronouncement of the Imperial policy, Napoleon on the 17th April dictated to Montholon a long and able paper of instructions for his son. No sign of degeneration is to be found in this document. It gives evidence of the retention of great mental capacity and endurance.

As he lay on his death-bed, Napoleon continued to think over his will and to recall the names of those whom he had not included in its provisions. A number of codicils followed.

The first codicil was made in order to formally invest his executors with the possession of his various belongings in St. Helena. He took the opportunity to head the document with the restatement of his desire that his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of that French people whom he had loved so well.

His second codicil distributed a further 2,000,000 francs. The money was to come from his valuables in Italy, which had already been disposed of as part of his private domain. In fact, Eugène was expected to pay. "I hope that, without using the credit of my account, my son Eugène Napoleon will pay them faithfully."

In this codicil additional bequests were made to many who had been mentioned in the will. Napoleon seems to have felt that his will had been rather too pronounced a snub to Bertrand, for he now gave him 300,000 francs more; to Montholon and Las Cases 200,000 each; Marchand and Lavalette, 100,000 each; Meneval, Labédoyère, Mouton Duvernet, Travot, Cambronne, Lefevre-Desnouettes, got another 50,000 each; Pierron, St. Denis, Noverraz, Coursot, Archambaud, 10,000 each. New names were General Hogendorp, his Dutch A.D.C., who had retired to Brazil, 100,000 ; Generals Corbineau, Caffarelli, and Dejean, who had all been disgraced by the Restoration Government, 50,000 each ; to Percy, surgeon at Waterloo, 50,000 ; to the children of General Chautrond, a loyal soldier, 50,000 ; to the duchesse de Frioul, daughter of Duroc, his faithful Grand Marshal, 50,000 ; to the duc d'Istria, the son of Marshal Bessières, 50,000 francs ; " to be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they may be French, or Italian, or Belgian, or Dutch, or Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, at the disposal of my executors, 100,000." He gave 200,000 francs to those who had suffered amputation or been severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo. The Guard were to be paid double ; those of the Guard who had been at Elba quadruple.

This exhausted the mythical 2,000,000. By a curious provision Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and Marchand were to deposit 100,000, 100,000, 100,000, and 50,000 francs, out of the sums bequeathed to them by this codicil, " in the treasurer's chest, to be disposed of according to my dispositions, to payment of legacies of conscience." Napoleon here points out that the legacies of this codicil are not " of conscience." They were mere pious wishes, to which Eugène paid no attention.

By a third codicil Napoleon bequeathed the value of the diamonds stolen from him by the Provisional Government in 1814, which he assessed at 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 francs ; and a sum of 20,000 to 30,000 francs, which he wrongly accused his Elba treasurer, Peyrusse, of having purloined. He gave the duc d'Istria another 300,000 francs, and said it was his wish he should marry the duchesse de Frioul, to whom he gave another 200,000 francs. To General Rigaud, who had been proscribed, he gave 100,000 francs ; to Boinod, who had been at Elba, 100,000 ; to the children of General Letolt, killed at Ligny, 100,000. The 800,000 francs disposed of by this codicil were to be considered as part of the will. They were therefore legacies of conscience, to be paid out of the Laffite funds.

By a fourth codicil which, like the third, was to be considered as part of the will, Napoleon bequeathed 100,000 francs to the descendants of the General Dutheil who had befriended him when he was a lieutenant of artillery at Auxonne. Dutheil was guillotined. He left 100,000 francs to the descendants of General Dugommier, who had been commander of the forces before Toulon. "We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery," he says, which is not true, for it was another General Dutheil, brother of the legatee, who commanded the artillery on that occasion. He left 100,000 to the descendants of Gasparin, representative of the people with the army before Toulon, who had given the young officer his protection, most valuable at that time. He gave 100,000 francs to the heirs of Muiron, who had been killed at his side at Arcola. He had talked several times of calling himself Colonel Muiron.

To these four worthy men Napoleon added the name of a scoundrel. The last legacy in this codicil was: "Ten thousand francs to the sub-officer Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that oligarch as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify himself by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that Lord, would have excused himself, and have been justified, by the same motives, the interest of France, to get rid of a General who, moreover, had violated the capitulation of Paris, and by that had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labédoyère, etc., and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties."

On the 10th February, 1818, Cantillon fired a pistol at the Duke of Wellington, who was returning in his carriage to his

NAPOLEON'S TOMB IN 1914

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

house in the Rue des Champs Elysées; but the shot missed even the carriage. At that time the Duke, as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Army of occupation, was virtually the ruler of France. On that very day he had obtained the agreement of the Allies to the reduction of that army from 150,000 men to 120,000; and he exerted a great influence, a few months later, in favour of the decision to withdraw all the foreign troops in November, 1818, nearly two years before the five years originally agreed upon, had elapsed. His moderation in victory was acknowledged by all. Capefigue, for instance, says: "The Duke of Wellington was very favourable to France in all that concerned the evacuation of her territory."[1]

Cantillon was arrested on the 19th March, 1818. His trial was put off for more than a year, to await the withdrawal of the Allied Army, and the departure of Wellington from Paris. Then on the 15th May, 1819, after a trial lasting five days, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal. The Crown prosecutor had told the jury that France expected them to say that no Frenchman could be guilty of the crime alleged. They had no option.

Napoleon was mistaken in supposing that Wellington had "proposed" the St. Helena detention, or had exercised any decisive influence in the matter; and Wellington did not violate the capitulation of Paris or break any treaties. Napoleon III officially informed Lord Palmerston, for publication by him in a speech in the House of Commons, delivered on the 10th February, 1858, that "the testator must have been labouring under mental aberration when he made such a bequest." There is no ground for that assertion; Napoleon was in full command of his faculties when this provision was dictated.

The executors, Bertrand, Marchand, and Montholon, hoped to avoid publicity, but found, to their dismay, when they arrived in England, that the will and codicils had to be deposited for public inspection at Doctors' Commons. Short abstracts immediately appeared in some English newspapers, with the Cantillon provision, for shame's sake, excluded. Montholon was driven by his desire to suppress it at all costs, to leave out all the codicils and give the contents of the will alone in his "Récits," vol. ii.

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[1] "Histoire de la Restauration," vol. v, p. 356.

In the accounts published under the Second Empire, Cantillon is said to have received his legacy in full, with added interest, while every other legatee had to submit to some deduction from the amount indicated by Napoleon. If Cantillon really received such exceptional treatment, it may be conjectured that it was done in order to avoid the publicity that any dispute might have occasioned, and to be finished with the discreditable business.

By a fifth codicil Napoleon called upon "the Empress Marie Louise, my very dear and well-beloved spouse," to refund the two million francs which she had taken away at Orleans, in 1814. Napoleon "recommended" Marie Louise to pay Bertrand 30,000 francs a year, as being due to him from the Duchy of Parma and the Mont Napoléon at Milan. He also "recommended" to her the duc d'Istria, the duchesse de Frioul, "and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who are always dear to me. She knows them."

He then proceeded to divide the two millions. The first four legacies are a repetition of those in the second codicil, in the same words: Bertrand is to have 300,000 francs; Montholon, 200,000; Las Cases, 200,000; Marchand, 100,000; but they are to return 100,000, 100,000, 100,000, and 50,000 respectively to the treasurer's chest, to be employed in "legacies of conscience." He then piles up more money on others who had already been benefited: the duc d'Istria gets another 100,000; the duchesse de Frioul another 100,000; Drouot and Lavalette another 100,000 each; Pierron, Noverraz and St. Denis an extra 25,000 each. To Levie, the former Mayor of Ajaccio, who had protected him during the riots at Ajaccio in the time of the Revolution, he gives 100,000 francs. He now remembers Santini, who gets 25,000 francs. He gives 40,000 to Planat, who at the time was under negotiation for making the journey to join him at St. Helena; 20,000 to Hébert, housekeeper at Rambouillet; 20,000 each to Lavigne, and Dervieux, who had been in charge of his stables. Vincent, the groom, who went to and from Elba with him, is forgotten. He gave 200,000 francs to the inhabitants of Brienne who had suffered most, and 300,000 to the Elban Guard, those who had suffered amputation or had been severely wounded to receive double. Marie Louise, of course, paid no attention to this codicil.

There was a seventh codicil, made on the 25th April, the day after the last of the others had been signed. The money now to be distributed was to be obtained from the sums which various legatees had been instructed to pay into the treasurer's chest, amounting to 700,000 francs in all. As the legacies were to be derived from funds over which Napoleon had no control, this codicil consists of pious wishes. The chief legacy, 300,000 francs, Napoleon gave to his son Léon, by Eleanor Revel. He remembered some of his Elban followers. He gave 30,000 each to Arrighi, the "Grand Vicaire" of Elba, a relative; to Lapi, Commander of the Elban National Guard, one of his orderlies; to Chautard, who commanded the *Inconstant* when it took him to France; to Taillade, who acted as lieutenant on that occasion; to Sarri, who was also an officer on the ship. To Raimbaud the boatman he gave 10,000 francs. Recipients of 20,000 each were Vantini, one of his Elban orderlies; Paoli, who commanded the gendarmes; Filidoro, the captain of the port of Portoferraio. He gave 10,000 to Marcaggi, an officer of gendarmes at Elba; 10,000 to the Staff-Officer of Porto Longone, and 10,000 to the Staff-Officer of Marciana, whose names he could not remember. The rest of his legacies went to Corsican benefactors of his youth. He gave 20,000 francs to the son of Madame Matras; 20,000 to Coni, an officer, and 10,000 to Marinaro, a sergeant in the Corsican volunteers, the first corps commanded by Napoleon; 20,000 to Poggi, former mayor of Occiani; 10,000 each to Nicolas of Bocognano, Vizzevano also of Bocognano, and a person described as the inhabitant of Bocognano who had saved his life in 1792. (It was 1793, when he fell into the hands of enemies at Bocognano, and these three peasants helped him to escape.) He gave 10,000 each to Bagaglino, another Corsican shepherd, and to Costa, a boatbuilder of Ajaccio.

In this codicil Napoleon's mind returns to certain Elbans who had been loyal to him (there are some omissions and predilections which must have surprised those who had been at Elba); and he recalls the humble friends of his youth, many of whose names he remembers. Approaching death had for once exorcised the politician, and allowed a reversion to the warm-hearted, emotional young officer of French artillery, spending his leave in his native land.

But on the next day the evil genius returned. Bertrand was reading out and translating an article in an English paper, and did not realize, till too late, that it was an attack upon Caulaincourt and Savary for participation in the murder of the duc d'Enghien. "It is shameful," exclaimed Napoleon, and he sent Montholon for his will, and without a word to his attendants, he interlineated in it the sentences (already quoted) in which he accepted the responsibility for that affair, and defended his action. Having done so, he dismissed Bertrand and Montholon by a silent gesture.

On the 27th he sent for Marchand early, and closed and sealed his will and codicils. "It seemed," says Montholon, "as if he was impatient to take it out of his power to give way to the reflection which might have urged him to cancel the interlineation of the previous day." But, although Napoleon's general policy had been to throw the blame for the murder of the duc d'Enghien on other persons, he had also on several occasions accepted the responsibility and justified his action. He told Bingham, for instance, on the

Northumberland, that there were Royalist conspiracies against him, and " it was a measure of necessity to secure his throne."

Napoleon remained to the last the Emperor at war with Europe. His will and first six codicils were his last shots, fired at the edge of the grave. In them he encouraged his friends, abused his enemies, and made an appeal for the support of public opinion throughout the world. Having done that he waited for the end. An unexpected respite was given, and he then bethought him of the simple loyal folk at Elba and the still ruder friends of his Corsican childhood. To make it appear that he still had something to dispose of, he distributed among this new class, by his seventh codicil, the sums already mentioned as to be derived from the legacies already given to other beneficiaries, which in their turn were to be drawn from funds over which he had no control. This combination of a complicated arithmetic with a soaring imagination, all on behalf of old and humble friends, is as characteristic of Napoleon the man as is the political manifesto of the Emperor of the French.

The will was deposited, on the 10th December, 1821, in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but probate was not granted until the 5th August, 1824. The property in England was sworn under £600. A copy of the will was produced before the tribunal of the Chamber of Paris in April, 1822. The decision given upon it was that Napoleon, having been proclaimed a rebel and traitor at the time when he placed the funds in the hands of Laffite, could have had no property to assign or devise, and therefore the will was null and void.

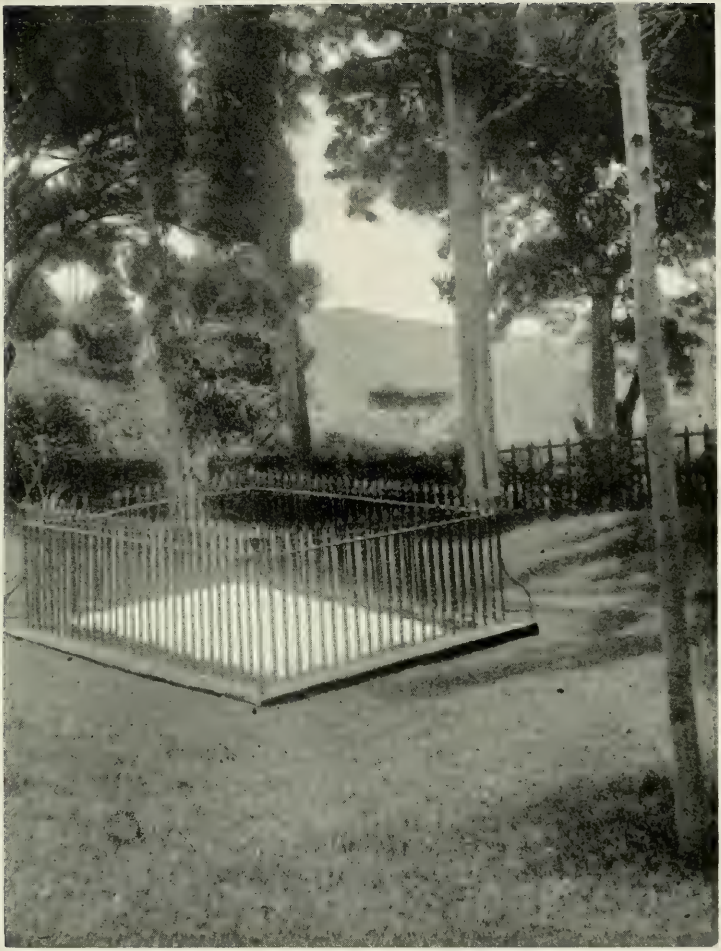
The executors resolved to act without the assistance of the law courts. They appointed arbitrators to settle the division of the Laffite funds. They were not concerned with any provisions in the will referring to other sources, over which they had no control. The Laffite fund was subject to the bequests in the will, and to the third and fourth codicils, which gave away sums amounting altogether to 6,810,000 francs.

In his will Napoleon said he had given Laffite 6,000,000 francs; in a note dictated a few days later he said that he had deposited "nearly" six millions; in the "instructions" for his executors of the 26th April, he said the sum was 5,280,000 francs, and he calculated that with interest at 5 per cent that sum would have increased to 7,000,000 francs by the 1st January, 1822. From that he deducted 800,000 francs for the sums he had drawn out, leaving 6,200,000 disposable for the legacies. It will be observed that he credited himself with interest on the whole of the 5,280,000 for the entire period, and thus expected interest on the sums he had withdrawn after they had been taken out of Laffite's keeping. Even by this method the Laffite fund could not be swollen to meet the legacies of 6,810,000 francs.

The sober fact was that Napoleon did not deposit with Laffite more than 4,200,000 francs, and that this sum, with its accumulations, had been reduced by his drawings when at St. Helena to 3,418,785 francs, just about half what he had disposed of in legacies on the Laffite fund alone.

The decision of the arbitrators, delivered on the 16th March, 1823, was that the sum in hand should be divided among the legatees at a uniform rate of reduction, with certain slight modifications. The Longwood domestics were paid nearly in full, receiving 94 per cent. The remainder received about three-fifths. There are some curious differences. Montholon received 67 per cent, Marchand and most of the others, 62 per cent, Bertrand, 57 per cent.; Rigaud, Boinod, and Letort, only 53 per cent. The payments were not completed till the year 1826, and by that time interest had accumulated to the extent of 457,336 francs, making a total available of 3,876,121 francs, all of which was divided.

Then came, thirty years after the death of its founder, the restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty. Napoleon III



NAPOLEON'S TOMB, IN 1914

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

looked into his uncle's will, and determined to fulfil its provisions as far as possible. In 1852 he caused application to be made in London for the possession of the original will. The French Ambassador at the time was Count Walewski, Napoleon's son by the Countess Walewska. The request was favourably received by the British authorities; the will was handed over to Walewski, who delivered it to Napoleon III in the spring of 1853. It is now in the National Archives at Paris. Napoleon III appointed a commission to report on the feasibility of carrying out the terms of the will.

On the 12th August, 1853, the commission reported that the collective legacies, to towns, provinces, the army, amounted to 200,800,000 francs, and the individual legacies to 10,010,000 francs. By a decree of the 14th December, 1851, Napoleon III had already allocated an annual credit of 2,700,000 francs for the old soldiers of the Republic and Empire. The Commission recommended that further sums should be provided of 4,000,000 francs for the individual legacies, and 4,000,000 francs for the collective legacies.

This proposal was published in the "Moniteur," on Sunday, 14th August, 1853, the day of celebration of the great Emperor's birthday. A year was allowed to elapse before the final decision was announced, most of the delay being due to the desire to publish it on the next birthday. Accordingly, the "Moniteur" of the 16th August, 1854, announced that the 8,000,000 francs were to be provided by the State, and that a second Commission was appointed to carry out the division.

In May, 1855, that Commission reported that the individual legacies amounted to 10,000,000 francs. The discreditable Cantillon bequest was being hushed up, for the first Commission had incautiously made the total 10,010,000 francs.

The sums still required, after deducting the twelve legacies which had lapsed owing to the death of beneficiaries, was 4,700,000 francs. The 4,000,000 advanced by the State was therefore insufficient to pay all the legacies in full, and it was decided that the deficit of 700,000 francs should be met by a proportional reduction of each legacy.

As for the collective legacies, the sum of 4,000,000 francs, provided to liquidate the nominal total of 200,800,000 francs, was to be distributed in the following order of precedence :—

Battalion of the Island of Elba.
The wounded at Ligny and Waterloo.
The towns of Brienne and Mery.
The provinces which suffered most in the two invasions.
The old soldiers of 1792–1815.

The individual legatees were accordingly paid very nearly to the full amount of their legacies. Of the other indeterminate and numerous beneficiaries, many persons received something, owing to the daring imagination, the inexhaustible belief in his own powers, and the eternal fighting spirit, of the extraordinary man who lay dying at Longwood, St. Helena, in April, 1821.

CHAPTER XXXI

LEGENDS AND APOTHEOSIS

OF the Longwood tragedy, day after day, week after week, year after year, it is not necessary to speak. Napoleon said, simply, " My situation is horrible. I am dead, and I feel full of life." He had made the same remark at Elba. " I exist no longer for the world. I am a dead man." At St. Helena there could be no second resurrection for himself, but he had the extraordinary self-confidence and courage, in his desperate situation, to believe in the restoration of his dynasty. "After all," he said, " it is worth more to my son that I should be here ; if he lives my martyrdom will give him the crown."

Another man might have resigned himself to his fate. He might have written to his family, and to old comrades, receiving in return, without concealment, letters, busts, locks of hair. He might have kept in good health, by taking exercise on foot and horseback ; he might have made excursions, in a perfect climate, to every part of an attractive island, and become acquainted with all its principal inhabitants. He would have remained an Emperor in his own home, and would have been received as the greatest man of the age, outside of it. He might have written the history of Europe during the Revolution and Empire, giving to his posterity a truthful record, and a just understanding, of events which have permanently affected the life of the human race. But the Romans had found that Corsican slaves were of little worth ; they remained persistently sullen and intractable. Napoleon was a typical

Corsican. It was merely impossible for him to give up the fight. He adopted, as he remarked on more than one occasion, at St. Helena, the crown of thorns, as the medium for ultimate, post-mortem, triumph. He set himself to prove that he was a martyr.

Napoleon exclaimed on one occasion at St. Helena, "After all, what a romance my life has been." The dazzling rise, the heavy fall, the extraordinary nature of the whole drama, could not fail to touch the imagination. The astounding Elban triumph seemed to deserve some conclusion less humiliating than the detention at St. Helena. That a man who could do such things should have worn out his days in idleness, on a remote island, appeared a cruel freak of fortune. There arose a general feeling of compassion for his fate. The St. Helena books, all of them inspired by Napoleon, appeared; O'Meara's "Voice" in 1822; the "Memorial" of Las Cases in 1823; and in 1825 Antommarchi added his testimony. No reply was forthcoming to the charges of inhumanity levelled against the British authorities; it was believed that no answer could be given.

Napoleon also worked at St. Helena to prove that he was a misunderstood man. The manifestos published by O'Meara, Las Cases, Antommarchi, were supported by the "Memoirs" dictated to Montholon and Gourgaud, which appeared, in eight volumes, in 1823–1825. This St. Helena message has been analysed by Gonnard,[1] who has summarized it under four heads. Napoleon asserted that he had always been (1) Representative of the principles of 1789; (2) Defender of the principles of nationalities; (3) Pacific, making war only in self-defence; (4) A supporter of religion. These claims are in conflict with history, and untenable. Gonnard indeed is able to destroy them from Napoleon's own mouth at St. Helena. He cites passages from Gourgaud's diary as evidence, that while Napoleon was issuing this manifesto he was at the same time making assertions, in the privacy of Longwood, which were irreconcilable with it. But, in spite of all, Napoleon succeeded—it is perhaps the most astonishing of all his achievements—in making the world believe that he had indeed borne a crown of thorns, that he had been treated with barbarity, and that his political career had been misjudged.

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[1] "Les Origines de la Légende Napoléonienne," 1906.

After his death these two branches of the legend made steady progress. The first actual fruit was the agitation for the recovery of the remains from the grave at St. Helena. On receiving news of his death, his mother Letizia, Madame Mère, as she had been styled, sent to the British Government an appeal for the body of her son, which she addressed to Lord Londonderry.

" ROME,

" 15 *August*, 1821.[1]

" MY LORD,

" The mother of the Emperor Napoleon demands from his enemies the remains of her son. She begs you to be so good as to present her demand to the Cabinet of His Britannic Majesty, and to His Majesty himself.

" Fallen from the pinnacle of all human grandeur to the lowest depths of misfortune, I shall not endeavour to soften the British Government by painting the sufferings of the great victim. Who, better than the Governor of Saint Helena and the Ministers whose orders he carried out, have been cognizant of all the sufferings of the Emperor ? Nothing need be said to a mother of the life and death of her son. History, impartial and just, is seated by his coffin, and both living and dead, peoples and kings, are all subjected to her unavoidable decrees.

" Even in the most remote times and among the most barbarous nations hatred was not extended beyond the tomb. Can the Holy Alliance of our days give to the world a new spectacle of its inflexibility ? And the British Government, would it desire to maintain its iron arm extended over the ashes of its immolated enemy?

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[1] The 15th August was Napoleon's birthday.

"I demand the remains of my son, nobody has a greater right than a mother. Under what pretext could the immortal remains be withheld? Reasons of State, and all that may be called politics, cannot be applied to inanimate remains; besides, what object can the British Government have in retaining them? If it was to outrage the ashes of a hero, such a design would produce a shudder of horror in all who still keep in their hearts a touch of humanity. If it was to expiate, by honours too long postponed, the torture upon the rock which will be remembered as long as England exists, I rise to object with all my force, and with all my family, against such a profanation. Such honours would be in our eyes the greatest of all outrages. My son has no further need for honours; his name suffices for glory, but I have need to embrace at least his coffin. That is far from the plaudits and noise which my hands prepared for him, in a humble chapel, a tomb.

"In the name of justice and humanity, I conjure you not to repel my prayer. To obtain the remains of my son I am entitled to supplicate the Government, I am entitled to supplicate His Britannic Majesty. I gave Napoleon to France and to the world; in the name of God, in the name of all mothers, I beg you, my Lord, not to refuse me the body of my son.

"Receive, my Lord, etc.,

"MADAME MÈRE."

This appeal could not have any effect. Soon afterwards, on the 21st September, 1821, Bertrand and Montholon sent a formal application to Lord Liverpool, for the remains of the Emperor to be delivered to them. The reply was that the British Government was prepared to hand over the body to France if a formal application were made by the French Government. The three executors, Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand, endeavoured to move the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to make the necessary request, but it was not to be expected that the Government of Louis XVIII would accede to the wishes of the Bonapartists.

So matters stood for some years. In 1831 came the death of Napoleon's son and heir, an event which seemed to put a final end to all danger from Bonaparte aspirations. The legends continued to do their work. Napoleon's name became a symbol for greatness and misfortune. The Government of Louis Philippe, *roi des Français,* at length felt safe in playing with the Napoleonic embers. In 1840 Thiers, author of the monumental work upon the Consulate and Empire, was at the head of the Government. He proposed that application should be made to the British Government, that Napoleon's last wishes should be respected, and his body brought to Paris. The suggestion was greeted with general approval. Thiers announced officially to Lord Granville, British Ambassador at Paris, the desire of the French Government. He remarked to Granville that the projected measure would be one of the most efficacious means of cementing the union of the two countries, and of producing friendly feelings between France and England.

Lord Palmerston replied that Her Majesty's Government would with pleasure accede to the request. "Her Majesty's Government entertains hopes that its readiness to comply with the wish expressed will be regarded in France as a proof of Her Majesty's desire to efface every trace of those national animosities which, during the life of the Emperor, engaged the two nations in war. Her Majesty's Government feels pleasure in believing that such sentiments, if they still exist, will be buried for ever in the tomb destined to receive the mortal remains of Napoleon."

The Government appealed to the Chambers for the necessary vote: "He was an Emperor and a King; he was the legitimate sovereign of our country, and under that title might be interred at St. Denis; but the ordinary sepulture of Kings must not be accorded to Napoleon; he must still reign and command on the spot where the soldiers of France find a resting-place, and where those who are called upon to defend her will always seek for inspiration. His sword will be deposited on his tomb."

"The study of the artist should be to give to this monument a simple beauty, a noble form, and that aspect of immovable solidity which shall appear to brave all the efforts of time. Napoleon must have a monument durable as his memory."

The Prince de Joinville, son of King Louis Philippe, in command of the frigate *Belle Poule*, was given the commission to bring away the body from St. Helena. With him went the following former inmates of Longwood: Count Bertrand, Lieutenant-General, with his son Arthur, born at St. Helena; Baron Gourgaud, Lieutenant-General, Aide-de-camp to the King; Baron Emmanuel Las Cases, Deputy and Councillor of State, the son of Count Las Cases; Marchand, one of the Emperor's executors; Saint Denis, Noverraz, Pierron and Archambaud, the domestics who had remained with their master to the end; and Coursot, who had been at Longwood during the last two years. Las Cases senior, aged seventy-four, was unable to undertake the voyage. Montholon had been implicated in Louis Napoleon's descent upon Boulogne, on August 5, 1814, and was now, with his leader, in the prison of Ham. It is a singular fact that all those who left France with Napoleon in 1815, and went on to St. Helena, were alive twenty-five years later, with the single exception of Cipriani. The absentees in 1840 were the four who had been deported in 1816, Piontkowski, Santini, Rousseau, and Archambaud (of whom the two last were then in the United States), Lepage, the cook, who left in 1817, and Gentilini, who left in 1820.

The *Belle Poule* arrived in Jamestown Roads on the 8th October, 1840. The Prince de Joinville was hospitably welcomed by the Governor, General Middlemore, and it was arranged that the removal of the coffin to the French frigate should take place on the 15th October, the anniversary of the day when the *Northumberland*, in 1815, reached St. Helena with its illustrious passenger.

The former Longwood inmates found St. Helena very different from what they recollected, and concluded, not that their point of view had changed, but that the island itself must have undergone some strange transformation. The air was pleasanter, the scenery brighter and more attractive, than had seemed to be the case when they were prisoners. At Longwood itself, there was indeed a change for the worse. Where had been the eastern garden there was now a windmill, which turned the thrashing machinery, at work in the room in which Napoleon died. There was a hole in the ceiling of the dining-room, for the passage of the wheat down a conduit to the machine in the drawing-room. This mill, with the thrashing machinery, is still in existence, in a field, a short distance from the house. Young Las Cases recognized in the garden the tree against which Napoleon was leaning, in November, 1816, distributing oranges among his followers, when the elder Las Cases was sent for to be arrested, preparatory to being removed from the island. At the present time there stands in front of the house an aged ilex, which would evidently, from its appearance, have afforded a convenient form of trunk to lean against. Napoleon's attitude was probably that shown in Denzil Ibbetson's sketch of him leaning against a gun-carriage on the *Northumberland.*

Marchand explained to those of the French party who saw Longwood for the first time that, however dilapidated the house then appeared, formerly it had been "though small, still a neatly fitted-up residence, surrounded by pleasant shrubberies and handsome gardens, which gave it a most picturesque appearance."[1]

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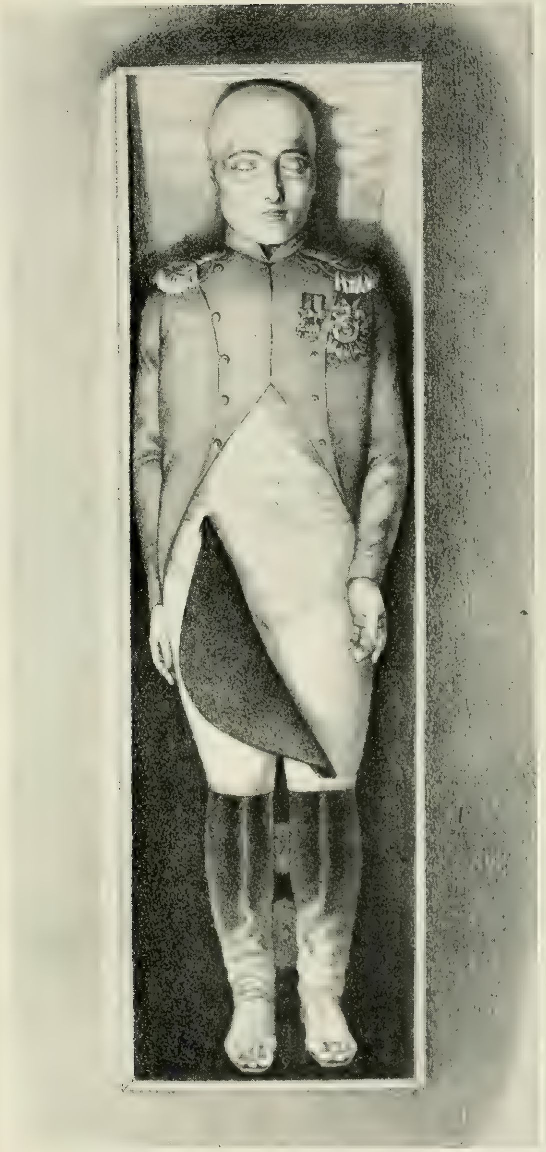
[1] Janisch, H., "The Exhumation of the Remains of Napoleon Bonaparte," James' Town, St. Helena, 1840, p. 10.

The exhumation was commenced at midnight of the 14th–15th October, under the direction of Captain Alexander, R.E. M. de Rohan Chabot, the special Royal Commissioner, represented the Prince de Joinville. The Longwood party was admitted inside the wooden railings, with the abbé Coquereau and two choristers, Dr. Guillard, surgeon-major of the *Belle Poule*, other French Naval officers, and Leroux, the plumber. The English party admitted inside the railings included, among others, Colonel Hodson, whom Napoleon had christened "our giant," and Mr. Darling, who had assisted at the interment.

A detachment of soldiers then set to work. It rained without ceasing. The special report of de Rohan Chabot and Captain Alexander says:

"We first caused the iron railings which surrounded the tomb, together with the strong stone work into which they were fastened, to be removed; we then came to the exterior covering of the grave, which, occupying a space of 11 feet 6 inches in length, and 8 feet 1 inch in breadth, was composed of three slabs of stone, 6 inches thick, enclosed in a second border of masonry. At half-past one this first covering was entirely removed.

"On its removal, we discovered a rectangular wall, forming, as we afterwards ascertained, the four sides of a vault, 11 feet in depth, 4 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 8 feet in length. This vault was entirely filled with earth to the depth of about 6 inches from the slabs of stone which had been removed. After having removed the earth, the workmen, at a depth of 6 feet 10 inches, encountered a horizontal layer of Roman cement, extending over the whole space enclosed within the walls, to which it adhered hermetically. This layer having been, at 3 o'clock, entirely laid bare, the undersigned Commissioners descended into the vault, and ascertained that it was perfectly entire, and undamaged in any way. The above-mentioned layer of cement having been broken, another layer was discovered



THE BODY OF NAPOLEON, AS IT APPEARED ON EXHUMATION, OCTOBER 15, 1840

From a drawing by Jules Rigo

beneath it, 10 inches thick, formed of rough-hewn stones, attached together by iron tenons; it required four hours and a half of labour to remove this layer.

"The extreme difficulty of this operation induced the undersigned English commissary to cause a trench to be dug on the left side of the vault, for the purpose of throwing down the wall on that side, and thus effecting an opening to the coffin, in case the horizontal layer should offer too strong a resistance to the efforts simultaneously made to break through it. But the workmen having succeeded, towards 8 o'clock in the morning, in entirely removing this layer, the works of the trench, which had reached a depth of 5 feet, were abandoned. Immediately below the layer thus removed, we found a strong slab 6 feet 7½ inches long, 3 feet broad, and 5 inches thick, forming, as we afterwards ascertained, the lid of the interior sarcophagus, of cut stone, which contained the coffin. This slab, which was perfectly entire, was enclosed in a border of rough-hewn stones and Roman cement, strongly attached to the walls of the vault. This border having been carefully removed, and two rings fixed to the lid, at half-past nine everything was ready for the opening of the sarcophagus. Dr. Guillard then purified the tomb, by sprinkling it with chloride, and the slab was raised by order of the undersigned English commissary, by means of a crab, and laid on the edge of the grave. As soon as the coffin was discovered, all present uncovered their heads, and M. l'Abbé Coquereau sprinkled holy water upon it, and recited 'De profundis.'

"The undersigned commissaries then descended to examine the coffin, which they found in good preservation, excepting a small portion of the lower part, which although it stood on a strong slab, supported on cut stone, was slightly injured. Some sanitary precautions having been taken by Dr. Guillard, an express was sent to his excellency the Governor, to inform him of the progress of the operations, and the coffin was raised out of the vault by means of hooks and straps, and carefully removed to a tent prepared for its reception. At this moment M. l'Abbé, in accordance with the rites of the catholic church, read the service used on the taking up of a corpse."

The extraordinary solidity of the work may be realized from the foregoing account. At one time it seemed that the coffin could not be reached for many hours, until it would be too late to have it transported by daylight to Jamestown. The progress may thus be tabulated:

12.30 a.m. First blow struck.

1.30 a.m. Railings and stone slabs removed. A contemporary drawing shows that all the railings were not cast down, as it was not necessary to do more than make sufficient space for the passage of the coffin.

3.30 a.m. The cement bed exposed (Gourgaud's notes).

8 a.m. Cement removed.

9.30 a.m. Stone slab raised by means of shears. The bands and cords which had been used for lowering the coffin, were seen lying under and on the coffin.

10.20 a.m. Coffin raised.

10.30 a.m. Coffin carried to a tent that had been erected within the wooden railings.

11 a.m. Coffin being opened. The exterior mahogany was removed, revealing the lead coffin; this was placed within a lead coffin brought from France, which was already inside a magnificent new ebony coffin which had also been brought from France; this, for its protection, was enclosed in a case of oak.

12.15 p.m. The lead coffin opened, revealing the inner one of mahogany.

1.15 p.m. The mahogany opened, showing the final tin lining. Pause of an hour and a half, while arrangements were being made for the exposure of the body.

2.43 p.m. The tin coffin opened.

A description of what was found may be taken from the report of Dr. Guillard. He says:

"The soldering was slowly cut, and the lid cautiously raised; I then perceived a white covering, which concealed the interior of the coffin, and hid the body from view; it was of wadded satin, with which the coffin was also lined. I raised the covering by one end, and rolling it from the feet to the head, there was presented to view the body of Napoleon, which I immediately recognized, so well was the corpse preserved, and so much truth of expression did the head possess.

"Something white, which seemed to have detached itself from the satin, like a light gauze, covered all the coffin contained. The head and forehead, which adhered strongly to the satin, were very much covered with it; but little was to be seen on the lower part of the face, the hands or toes. The body of the Emperor lay in an easy position, the same in which it had been placed in the coffin; the upper limbs laid at their length—the left hand and lower part of the arm resting on the left thigh—the lower limbs slightly bent. The head, a little raised, reposed on the cushion; the capacious skull, the lofty and broad forehead, were covered with yellowish integuments, hard and strongly adhering. The same was the case round the eyes, above which the eyebrows still remained. Beneath the eyelids were to be seen the eyeballs, which had lost but little of their fullness and form. The eyelids, completely closed, adhered to the cheek, and were hard when pressed with the finger; a few eyelashes still remained on the ledges. The bones of the nose, and the integuments which covered them, were well preserved; the tube and the nostrils alone had suffered. The cheeks were swollen, the integuments of this part of the face were remarkable for their soft and flexible feeling, and their white colour; those of the chin were slightly bluish; they had acquired this tint from the beard, which appeared to have grown after death. The chin itself had suffered no change, and still preserved the type peculiar to the face of Napoleon. The lips, which had become thinner, were parted; three incisor teeth of extreme whiteness appeared under the upper lip, which was a little raised at the left side. The hands left nothing to desire, they were not altered in the slightest degree; though the muscles had lost their power of motion, the skin seemed to have preserved that peculiar colour which belongs only to life; the nails were long, adherent, and very white. The legs were enclosed in boots, but the sewing of the feet had burst, and the four smaller toes of each foot were visible. The skin of these toes was of a dull white; the nails were preserved. The anterior region of the thorax was much fallen in the middle, the sides of the stomach sunken and hard. The limbs appeared to have preserved their form beneath the clothes that covered them; I pressed the left arm and found it hard and diminished in size. The clothes themselves had preserved their colour; thus the uniform of the *chasseurs à cheval* was perfectly to be recognized by the dark green of the coat, and the bright red of the facings, the grand cord of the Legion of Honour crossing the waistcoat, and the white pantaloons partly concealed by the small hat which rested on the thighs. The epaulettes, the gold work, and the two orders on the breast, had lost their brilliancy, and were blackened, with the exception of the crown surmounting the cross of an officer of the Legion of Honour, which preserved its colour. Some of the silver vases lay between the legs; one surmounted by an eagle, between the knees; I found it uninjured and closed. As these vases adhered rather strongly to the adjoining parts of the body, by which they were partially covered, the King's commissary thought it better not to displace them for nearer examination.

"Such are the only details which an examination, lasting only for two minutes, has allowed me to draw up concerning the mortal remains of the Emperor Napoleon. They are doubtless incomplete, but they will serve to attest a state of preservation more perfect than I had any grounds to expect, after the known circumstances of the autopsy and interment. This is not the place to examine into the numerous causes which may have contributed to arrest at this point the decomposition of the muscles, but there is no doubt that the extreme solidity of the masonry of the grave, and the care employed in the manufacture and soldering of the metal coffins, were very proficient in the production of this result. However this may be, I feared the effect of contact with the air upon the corpse; and, convinced that the best means of preserving it was to withdraw it from its destructive action, I eagerly complied with the request of the King's commissary, who desired that the coffins might be reclosed.

"I replaced the wadded satin, after having slightly rubbed it with creosote; I caused the wooden coffins to be hermetically sealed, and the metal coffins to be soldered with the greatest care.

"The remains of the Emperor Napoleon are at present contained in six coffins:

"1. A tin coffin. 2. A mahogany coffin. 3. A leaden coffin. 4. A second leaden coffin, separated from the previous one by sawdust and wooden corners. 5. An ebony coffin 6. An oak coffin, to preserve that of ebony from injury.

"Drawn up at the island of St. Helena, the 15th of the month of October, 1840.

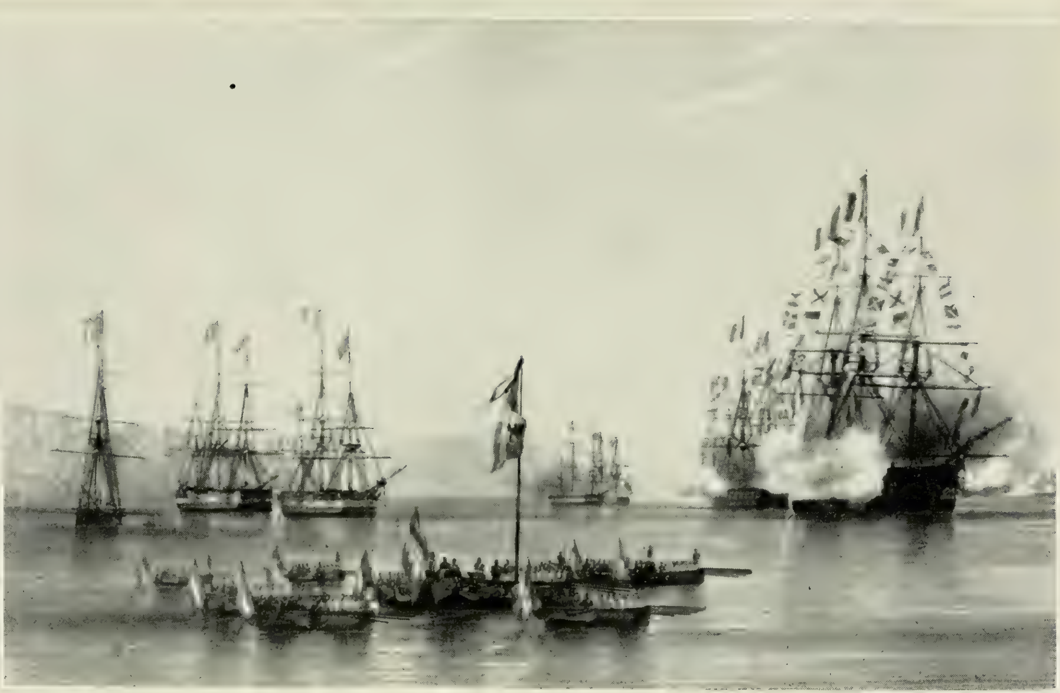
"REMI GUILLARD,
Doctor of Medicine.
"PH. DE ROHAN-CHABOT,
Commissary of the King."

The body and the other contents of the tin coffin remain now as they were described by Dr. Guillard, when the coffins were closed at St. Helena in 1840; they have not been actually disturbed since the first burial, on the 9th May, 1821.

The hearse was constructed from a former Governor's carriage, which had been drawn by bullocks. The body of this solid vehicle was removed and a platform 9 feet long by 3½ feet broad was made on it, with wooden pillars 4 feet high at the corners. This was drawn by four horses, up the sloping road, which had been broadened for the occasion. The size and weight of carriage and coffins was considerable. At 3.30 p.m. the journey began. At the head went a detachment of St. Helena militia, followed by a detachment of the 91st Regiment, and the band of the militia; the abbé Coquereau with two choristers; the car and four horses, attended by a detachment of Royal Artillery. The corners of the pall were borne by Bertrand on the right, with Las Cases behind him, Gourgaud on the left, followed by Marchand. The car was so heavy that it had to be held back, at the steep descents, by soldiers, with chains attached to the back part. These soldiers were followed by Saint Denis, Noverraz, Archambaud, and Pierron. Then came the chief French officers, who were followed by Arthur Bertrand and Coursot. Then came the English officials, civil, naval, and military; the Governor, the chief judge, Colonel Hodson; a company of Royal Artillery. Many of the principal inhabitants of the island followed, in deep mourning. During the whole journey the forts were firing minute guns.

The procession reached the outskirts of Jamestown at 4.30 p.m. The steady drizzle of rain which had never ceased in the country since the proceedings commenced at midnight, was now left behind. Soldiers of the garrison, their arms reversed, lined both sides of the road the whole distance to the quay. At 5.30 the end of the quay was reached. The French official account observes that the highest official honours had been rendered by the English authorities to the memory of the Emperor. H.R.H. the Prince de Joinville received the Imperial coffin from the hands of General Middlemore, and thanked him, in the name of France, for the testimonies of sympathy and respect which the authorities had exhibited throughout.

The sarcophagus was lowered on to the deck of a boat from the *Belle Poule*. The boat carried a fine silk flag which had been made by three young ladies of the island.



THE BODY OF NAPOLEON BEING TAKEN FROM JAMESTOWN TO THE FRENCH FRIGATE "BELLE POULE": 15 OCTOBER, 1840

After Durand-Brager

The French ships and the British forts fired salutes while the boat was making its way to the *Belle Poule.* The coffin was taken on board at 6.30 p.m. of the 15th October, 1840. It was placed in a mortuary chapel which had been prepared between-decks. On the 18th October the vessel sailed for France.

The funeral in France was of the most magnificent kind. The *Belle Poule* reached Cherbourg on the 30th November. On the 8th December the sarcophagus was placed on a steamship, the *Normandie,* under an ornate and splendid cenotaph, a dome supported by twelve columns. The *Normandie,* with an escort, passed along the northern coast of France, and entered, on the 9th December, the harbour of Havre. The sarcophagus was transhipped to the *Dorade,* and placed under another magnificent cenotaph. This vessel proceeded up the Seine, and was met near Paris by a funeral barge constructed specially for the ceremony. It carried a temple, large golden eagles, flags, brasiers emitting fire and smoke, and every appropriate ornamentation that could be devised. At Courbevoie the coffin was landed, and placed upon a magnificent funeral car, 33 feet high, 33 feet long, 20 feet broad, drawn by sixteen black horses. A triumphal arch had been constructed at the landing-place, leading to a large funereal temple. The solemn entry into Paris, amid the reverberation of cannon, the roads lined by infantry, keeping back immense crowds of sightseers, took place on the 15th December, 1840. Triumphal arches, allegorical statues, standards, eagles, lined the route to the esplanade des Invalides.

The esplanade had statues on both sides, candelabra and tripods giving out flames, with galleries and stands for spectators. The church of the Invalides was decorated with similar grandeur, with masts, statues, eagles, crowns, curtains of black velvet, and galleries for distinguished persons. Beneath the centre of the dome there was a magnificent cenotaph 50 feet high. The sarcophagus was placed under it. The Prince de Joinville advanced and announced to Louis

Philippe, seated upon a throne: " Sire, I present to you the body of Napoleon, which, in accordance with your commands, I have brought back to France." The King replied, " I receive it in the name of France." The funeral mass was conducted by a choir of three hundred voices. On the succeeding days the Parisians were admitted in great numbers into the church. It was twenty-five years since Napoleon left Paris.

Never had anything of the kind been seen to compare with the reception given by France to the remains of the great Emperor. The body now lies in a circular excavation which fills the centre of the church under the dome. A sarcophagus of the hardest, most durable stone that has yet been discovered anywhere in the world, surmounts the tomb. The fame of the man buried below requires no such protection against time. No name was placed upon the slabs of white stone at St. Helena. It was unnecessary to inscribe any name on the sarcophagus at Paris.

THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON AT THE INVALIDES, PARIS

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APPENDIX

I. Letter from Count Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe, known as the Montholon Remonstrance.

II. The health of the troops at St. Helena in 1815–1821.

III. Inventory of the furniture in the three houses at Longwood, made by Mr. Darling, May, 1821. From the papers at the Castle, Jamestown.

IV. Memorial of Captains Younghusband and Fernandez and Lieutenant Wilton, and reply thereto by the Governor and Council, July, 1817. From the papers at the Castle, Jamestown.

V. Two letters from Pauline Bonaparte to Planat, July, 1821. From Planat, " Rome et Sainte-Hélène."

VI. Sir Hudson Lowe to Lady Holland. B.M., 20132, p. 205.
Lady Holland to Sir Hudson Lowe. B.M., 20233, p. 172.

I

To Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

I have received the treaty of the 2nd August, 1815, concluded between His Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which accompanied your letter of the 23rd July.

The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of this treaty. He is not the prisoner of England. After having placed in the hands of the representatives of the nation his abdication in the interest of the constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he went voluntarily and freely to England to reside there as a private person, in retirement, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of every law cannot constitute a right. In point of fact the person of the Emperor

Napoleon is in the power of the English nation, but neither in point of fact nor of right has he ever been, nor is he now, in the power of Austria, of Russia, or of Prussia, even according to the laws of England, which, in the exchange of prisoners, never included the Russians, the Austrians, the Prussians, the Spaniards, or the Portuguese, although united to these Powers by treaties of alliance, and carrying on war conjointly with them. The Convention of the 2nd August, concluded a fortnight after the Emperor Napoleon had reached England, cannot by right have any effect. It only represents the spectacle of a coalition of the four great Powers of Europe for the oppression of one man, a coalition disapproved by the opinion of all peoples, as well as by every principle of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, not having either in fact or by right any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, could not decree anything against him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that Prince would have remembered the connection which religion and nature has made between a father and his son, a connection which is never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that on four occasions Napoleon restored to him his throne: at Leoben in 1797, and at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna: at Presbourg in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were masters of the Capital and of three-fourths of the monarchy. That Prince would have remembered the protestations he made at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview of Dresden in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have remembered the ties of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and during a daily correspondence of twelve years. He would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon on the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when though he could have taken him prisoner, with the remains of his army, he took only his parole and allowed him to carry out his retreat; he would have remembered the danger to which the Emperor Napoleon exposed his person for the sake of extinguishing the conflagration of Moscow and for preserving for him his capital. Certainly that Prince would not have violated the obligations of friendship and consideration towards a friend in misfortune. Even if the person of the Emperor had been in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that, after the battle of Friedland, the Emperor could have placed another Prince upon the throne of Berlin ; he would not have forgotten, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devotion and the sentiments he expressed towards him in 1812 at Dresden. Besides, it is evident from the Articles 2 and 5 of the said treaty of the 2nd August, that not being able to exert any influence upon the fate of the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these same Princes consent to whatever may be done in the matter by His Britannic Majesty, who takes upon himself the discharge of all the obligations. These Princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon for having preferred the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor had entertained of the liberality of the English laws and of the influence of a great, generous, and free people upon their Government, made him prefer the protection of those laws to that of his father-in-law or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon could at any time have secured his personal interests by a diplomatic treaty, either by placing himself at the head of the army of the Loire or by placing himself at the head of the army of the Gironde, which was under the command of General Clausel ; but seeking for the future only retirement and the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, any stipulations appeared to him unnecessary ; he thought that the English people would be more bound by his frank, noble, and confiding step than it could have been by the most solemn treaties. He was mistaken. But this error will for ever make every true Briton blush, and both in the present generation and in the generations to come it will be a proof of the faithlessness of the English Administration.

Austrian and Russian Commissioners have arrived at St. Helena ; if the object of their mission is to fulfil a part of the obligations which the Emperors have contracted by the treaty of the 2nd August, and to take care that the English agents, in a small colony in the midst of the ocean, are not wanting in the respect due to a Prince united to them by the ties of relationship and by so many other considerations, that proceeding would exhibit the marks of the character of those two sovereigns. But you, sir, have declared that these Commissioners have neither the right nor the power to hold any opinion on anything which may happen on this rock.

The English Minister has caused the Emperor Napoleon to be sent to St. Helena, at a distance of 2000 leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic, and 500 leagues from any continent, is exposed to the parching heat of this latitude, it is enveloped in clouds and fogs during three parts of the year; it is, at the same time, the driest and the dampest country in the world; the climate is most unfavourable to the health of the Emperor. Hatred has dictated the choice of this abode, as also the instructions given by the English Ministry to the officers commanding on this spot. They have been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon General, with the object of compelling him to admit that he has never reigned in France, which has decided him not to take a name of incognito, as he had decided to do when leaving France. Chief Magistrate for life of the Republic under the title of First Consul, he concluded the Preliminaries of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; he received as Ambassadors Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that capacity at his Court. He accredited to the King of England Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as Ambassadors at the Court of Windsor. When, after an exchange of letters between the Ministers of the two Monarchs, Lord Lauderdale went to Paris furnished with plenary powers by the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries furnished with plenary power by the Emperor Napoleon, and resided for several months at the Court of the Tuileries. When, afterwards, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum which the Allied Powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he recognized the Fourth Dynasty.

The ultimatum was more advantageous than the Treaty of Paris, but it exacted from France the renunciation of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the proposals of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the Allied Powers, and contrary to the oath by which at his coronation the Emperor had sworn to maintain the integrity of the Empire.

The Emperor believed the natural limits to be as essential to the security of France as to the balance of Europe, and that the French nation, under the circumstances in which it was placed, should rather incur all the hazards of war than give up the point. France would have maintained this integrity, and with it her honour, if treason had not come to the assistance of the Allies.

The treaty of the 2nd August, and the Bill of the British Parliament, call the Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, not giving him the title of General. The title of General is no doubt eminently glorious, the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir, but for the last seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul or Emperor. To accept the title of General would be to admit that he had never been First Consul of the Republic nor Sovereign of the Fourth Dynasty. Those who believe that nations are sheep which, by divine right, belong to certain families, do not belong to the age, nor even to the spirit of the English Legislature, which has changed the order of its dynasty several times, because great changes in opinion, in which the reigning Princes did not join, had made them enemies of happiness, and of the great majority of the nation ; for Kings are but hereditary magistrates who exist only for the benefit of nations, not for the satisfaction of Kings.

It is this same spirit of hatred which has ordered that the Emperor Napoleon should not be allowed to write nor to receive any letter which has not been opened and read by the English Minister and the officers of Saint Helena. He has thus been deprived of the possibility of receiving news of his mother, of his wife, of his son, of his brothers ; and when, hoping to avoid the unpleasantness of having his letters read by the subaltern officers he wished to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was informed that only open letters would be accepted for transmission, such being the instructions of the Minister. This proceeding requires no comment ; it would be disavowed in Algiers.

Letters have arrived for the General Officers in the suite of the Emperor ; they were open and were sent to you. You did not forward them because they had not passed through the hands of the English Minister. They had to cover another 4000 leagues, and these officers had the mortification of knowing that there was news on this rock of a wife, a mother and children, and that it would not be revealed to them for six months. The heart swells with indignation. We have not been allowed to subscribe to the "Morning Chronicle," nor the "Morning Post," nor to French journals. From time to time a few odd numbers of "The Times" are sent to Longwood ; a request having been made on the *Northumberland* some books have been sent to us, but all those which relate to the events of the last years have been carefully taken away. An English author, having travelled in France, and printed his work in London, took the trouble to send it through you to the Emperor, but you did not think proper to forward it to him, because it had not come through the channel of your Government. It is also said that other books sent by their authors have been kept back because they bore the inscription

" à l'Empereur Napoléon," or that of " à Napoleon le Grand." The English Minister has no authority to impose such vexations. The Act, iniquitous as it is, of the English Parliament regards the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war, and never have prisoners of war been prohibited from subscribing to newspapers or receiving printed works; such a prohibition belongs only to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is everywhere inaccessible; brigs surround the coast; guards are stationed at ten different points along the shore in sight of each other, thus intercepting all communication with the sea. There is but one little town, Jamestown, where vessels anchor, and from whence they sail. In order to prevent any person from leaving the island it is enough to watch the coast by sea and by land. By interdicting the interior of the island no other object can be intended than to deprive us of a promenade of eight or ten miles, which could be performed on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the physicians, will shorten the life of the Emperor. Longwood has been selected for the residence of the Emperor; it is exposed to every wind that blows, the land is sterile, uninhabited, without water, and unfit for cultivation of any kind. There is an enclosure of about 1200 toises of uncultivated land; at the distance of one or two hundred toises, on a rising ground, there is a camp, another has just been established at about the same distance in the opposite direction, so that whichever way we turn our eyes we see nothing but camps. Admiral Malcolm, knowing how useful in this place a tent would be to the Emperor, has had one erected by the sailors; under it alone can shade be enjoyed. The Emperor, however, has every reason to be satisfied with the spirit that animates the officers and men of the brave 53rd, as he also was with the men of the *Northumberland.*

The building at Longwood was erected to serve as a barn for the Company's farm; the Lieutenant-Governor of the island has since added some rooms to it, it served him for a country house, but it is by no means fit for continuous residence. For the last twelve months work upon it has been constantly going on, and the Emperor has been continually exposed to the inconvenience and insalubrity of living in a house in process of construction. The room in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of ordinary size; but any fresh construction at Longwood would only prolong the annoyance of having the workmen about.

There are, however, in this miserable island, some agreeable localities with trees, and gardens, and pretty good houses, Plantation House among the rest; but positive instructions from the Ministry prohibit your granting that house, which would have saved considerable expense to your treasury—money laid out in building wooden huts, covered with tarred paper, and which are already unserviceable.

You have forbidden all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, placed Longwood under interdiction; you have even interrupted our communication with the officers of the garrison; it seems accordingly to be studiously intended to deprive us of the few resources offered by this miserable place, and we are just as badly off here as we should be in the barren and uninhabited rock of Ascension. During the four months that you have been at St. Helena, Sir, you have aggravated the position of the Emperor. Count Bertrand has observed to you that you even violate the laws of your Government, that you trample under foot the rights of the General Officers, prisoners of war. You reply that you recognize nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that these were even worse than your conduct appeared to us.

I have the honour to be, Monsieur le Général, your very humble and very obedient servant,

Le Général Comte de Montholon.

P.S.—I had already signed this letter, Sir, when I received yours of the 17th, accompanied by the approximate estimate, of a sum of £20,000 sterling, which you consider indispensable for the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after having made all the reductions you thought proper. It is not for us to enter into any discussion of this estimate. The table of the Emperor is barely supplied with what is strictly necessary; all the provisions are bad in quality, and everything here four times as dear as in Paris. You demand from the Emperor £4000 sterling, your Government allowing only £8000 sterling for all expenses. I have already had the honour to inform you the Emperor has no funds: that for a year past he has neither received nor written any letters, and that he is entirely ignorant of anything that has taken place or may happen in Europe. Brought by force to this rock, 2000 leagues removed, without being able to write or receive any letters, he is entirely at the mercy of the English agents. It has ever been and still is the wish of the Emperor to defray all his own expenses of whatever nature, and he will do so whenever you shall render it possible, by countermanding the orders issued to the merchants of this island not to facilitate his correspondence, and when that correspondence shall no longer be subjected to your inquisition or to that of any of your agents. As soon as the wants of the Emperor shall be known in Europe, those who take an interest in his behalf will send the funds necessary to provide for them. The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange surmises. Do not your Ministers know, Sir, that the sight of a great man struggling with adversity is the sublimest of all spectacles ? Do they not know that Napoleon, at the island of St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, to which he opposes only the most perfect serenity, is greater, more sacred, more to be venerated, than when, seated on the greatest throne of the world, he was so long the arbitrator of Kings ? Those who, in such circumstances, are wanting towards Napoleon, only degrade themselves and the nation they represent.

Le Général Comte de Montholon.

II

THE HEALTH OF THE TROOPS AT ST. HELENA IN 1815–1821

According to the Army "Monthly Returns" at the Record Office the collective death-rate among the troops at St. Helena from April, 1816, to March, 1822, was as high as 40 per thousand.[1] These figures include the Jamestown returns. The figures for Deadwood only were :

2nd Batt. 53rd : April, 1816–June, 1817	death-rate	23	per	1000
1st Batt. 66th : May, 1819–February, 1820	,, ,,	12	,,	,,
20th Foot : March, 1820–May, 1821	,, ,,	50	,,	,,

The collective rate for Deadwood was 30 per thousand.

The abnormal difference between the rates for the three regiments is open to explanation. More than half the deaths in the 53rd, for fifteen months, occurred in the months of April and May,

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[1] "The Fatal Illness of Napoleon." A paper read before the historical section of the International Congress of Medicine, London, 8th August, 1913, by Arnold Chaplin, M.D.

1817, when 9 men died out of 17 for the full period. That mortality may perhaps be attributed to an epidemic of typhoid fever, brought about by insanitary conditions. For the twelve months preceding the epidemic, from April, 1816, to March, 1817, the death-rate in the 53rd at Deadwood was only 12 : and for the last six months of the period it was as low as 7, only two men dying.

The 20th came from England, and was at first quartered in Jamestown, Francis Plain, and Lemon Valley. While there, from May, 1819, to February, 1820, ten months, the death-rate was as high as 53. In March, 1820, the regiment was moved, in this unhealthy condition, to Deadwood, and soon after its arrival an epidemic carried off ten men in one month, April, 1820. That occurrence is the cause of the high death-rate of 50 for the fifteen months at Deadwood. The rate fell to 37 for the last twelve months, and to 23 for the last six months. The steady improvement is shown by comparing the death-rate for the first nine months, which was 61, with the next six months, when it was only 23.

Dr. Shortt, P.M.O., in his report at the end of this period, 20th March, 1821, said that the proportion of sick among the troops was only 1 in 42. “This extraordinary degree of health, superior to that of most places in the world, Dr. Shortt attributes to the circumstance of the island being placed in the way of the trade winds,” etc.[1]

The health of the regiment on its return to Francis Plain and Jamestown was altogether different from what it had been when sent there on first arrival from England. During the ten months from June, 1821, to March, 1822 (when the 20th left St. Helena), the death-rate was 20 : whereas, as we have seen, during the ten months spent in the same quarters in May, 1819, to February, 1820, the death-rate had been 53. The regiment arrived at St. Helena in a condition of ill-health, which was increased during the first period at Jamestown, and gradually cured by the salubrity of Deadwood. Excluding epidemics, the death-rates at Deadwood were :—

2nd Batt. 53rd :	12 months . .	death rate 14.
1st Batt. 66th :	10 ,, . . .	,, ,, 12.
20th Foot :	12 ,, . . .	,, ,, 37.

These conclusions may be compared with the Statistical Reports prepared by order of the Secretary of State for War, by Major Tulloch, Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals Marshal, and

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[1] “The Life of Napoleon,” by Sir Walter Scott, p. 783.

Staff Assistant-Surgeon Balfour. They were founded on the Records of the Army Medical Department and the War Office Returns, and were presented to Parliament in 1838.

No medical returns were received in 1816 or 1817 from St. Helena. The death-rates are therefore, for the sake of comparison, taken from the War Office Returns throughout; these are always slightly higher than the medical returns, as they include all deaths and not merely those which occurred in hospital.

The death rates obtained from the War Office Returns were as follows:—

	Years.	Death-rate per 1000.
St. Helena	1836–1837	13·5
Cape of Good Hope	1818–1836	15·5
Nova Scotia and New Brunswick	1817–1836	18
Malta	1817–1836	18·7
Canada	1817–1836	20
London: Foot Guards	1830–1836	21·6
Gibraltar	1818–1836	22·3
Ionian Isles	1817–1836	28·3
St. Helena	1816–1821	35
Ceylon	1817–1836	75
West Indies	1817–1836	81·5
Rangoon	1824 and 1826	446
Gold Coast	1823–1826	668

St. Helena, with a death-rate of 13·5, was the healthiest place for troops in the whole of the British Empire, in the years 1836–7, but in the Napoleonic years, 1816–21, all the temperate climates were superior. This remarkable difference was caused by two influences, which may be summarized as—rations and fatigues.

The figures refer to the King's troops only. The report says: "So far as regards the Company's troops, as well as the civil population, the climate of this island has unquestionably proved healthy." Two-thirds of the deaths in the King's troops were attributed to dysentery. "The East India Company's troops," says the report, "were almost entirely exempt; indeed, in some years the mortality amongst them by all diseases together was not higher than among the King's troops by disease of the bowels alone." The officers "under treatment for diseases of this class did not average above three annually, being scarcely a fifth of the proportion among the troops, and not a single officer died or was even seriously affected by them. It is remarkable, too, that the population of the island generally appears to have enjoyed a similar exemption : the inhabitants of St. Helena suffer scarcely half as much from these diseases as the population of Malta ; indeed, they do not appear to be more prevalent than in England."

In 1836 it was discovered that the dysentery—the sole cause of the enhanced death-rate—was due to the unsuitable food, which the King's troops alone had to endure. The ration in 1816–21 was a pound of salt beef or pork, a pound of bread, and a pint of Cape wine.

The King's troops left the island in 1822 and did not return till St. Helena had become a Crown colony, in 1836, when the 91st Regiment was sent out. Soon after arrival this regiment was attacked by dysentery, nearly a third of the corps going into hospital. "At this time," says the official report, "no such disease prevailed among the civil inhabitants, or the soldiers of the colonial corps which had been disbanded, nor were any cases of it observed among the officers." A Board of Medical Officers was directed to make investigations, and they reported that "the health of the troops had manifestly been impaired by the constant use of salt rations ; that in several, particularly those of a scrofulous diathesis, dysentery had been induced, and that when such persons were even fortunate enough to recover from a first attack, they generally experienced a recurrence of the symptoms immediately on returning to the salt meat diet. Two days' fresh provisions per week were in consequence ordered for the troops, with a privilege of exchanging a portion of their salt meat for fish or vegetables. The beneficial effect of this alteration was shown by the cases of visceral obstructions being reduced to half their previous amount in the course of the following year, and now they are said to be comparatively rare.

"From the evidence taken before that Board, it appears that the soldiers had then been for upwards of ten months without a ration of fresh meat, except when in hospital ; if in the course of that time the baneful effect of this restriction showed itself so evidently, there seems little difficulty in solving the reason of this class of disease being so general and of so aggravated a character among the King's troops prior to 1822, when during a period of five years fresh meat was seldom or never used. We are relieved, therefore, from the seeming incongruity of attributing the loss they sustained on that occasion to the agency of a climate which, so far as regards all the other inhabitants, appears to have been decidedly salubrious.

"The circumstances of the East India Company's regiments being in a great measure exempt from these diseases, though receiving the same description of ration as the King's troops, may be accounted for by most of them having formed connexions on the island, through whose aid they were in the habit of raising pigs, poultry, and vegetables to improve their diet, which troops of the Crown, whose residence is always temporary and uncertain, had no similar opportunities of doing. The Company's troops appear also to have been in the habit of exchanging a large part of their salt meat for fish and vegetables, and to have enjoyed the advantage of obtaining from the Government stores tea, sugar, flour, etc., considerably below the market prices."

The official report examines the incidence of the various classes of disease at St. Helena. Of fevers it says: "There can be no better proof that this class of diseases may be comparatively rare, even within the tropics, than that the admissions annually have been fewer, in the proportion of 71 to 75, than among an equal force in the United Kingdom." Among the civil population "the rates of mortality from that class of diseases was, like the admissions, almost the same as in Britain." Some of the soldiers brought the fever with them. "Nearly all the cases reported as intermittent occurred in the 66th Regiment, one battalion of which arrived in 1817 from the East Indies, where many of the soldiers may probably have acquired a predisposition to the disease." If these cases brought from India had been excluded the local-grown fever would have been shown to be much less at St. Helena than in England.

"As regards diseases of the lungs," the report continues, "St. Helena seems also remarkably healthy, the proportion of admissions and deaths among the military being not half so high as in the United Kingdom or Mediterranean stations, and the same feature is manifested in the population generally. . . . The proportions of admissions from minor diseases" (dropsy, rheumatism, ulcers, etc.) "is only half as high as among the most select class of troops in the United Kingdom. Diseases of the liver," however, "are more than twice as common in St. Helena as in England." It is now known that hepatitis is a very usual follower of dysentery, and the chief cause of dysentery among the King's troops has already been shown to have been the want of fresh meat and vegetables. The significance of the food question is shown by the fact that 56 per cent, or more than half the total number of deaths, was due to dysentery, and 16 per cent to its consequence, hepatitis, so that nearly three-fourths of the mortality was attributed to the unsuitable food.

With regard to the fatigue duties, such as the exposure of sentries at night and during rain storms, the work of making and repairing roads, and the labour connected with the transport of materials to Longwood for buildings, the opinions of the surgeons who were present was that the effect was most injurious. Doctors Baxter, Henry, and Arnott, unable to forecast the wonderful discovery as to the need for fresh food, each declared, in his own separate way, that the health of the soldiers was injured by the exposure and labour which were occasioned by the presence of Napoleon on the island.

Baxter, the chief medical officer, reported to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 7th February, 1817, that the illness of the 2nd Battalion of the 66th, which was quartered at Jamestown, the least healthy place in the island, attacked chiefly the young, between the ages of 16 and 22, of whom there was a large proportion. The chief cause was fatigue duty in mountainous country, in the sun, followed by indulgence in alcohol. Those who were not on fatigue duty were not ill. Dysentery and inflammation of the liver were the chief complaints. The non-commissioned officers, the band, tailors, officers' servants, and the women were not affected. The men got extra " working money " and drank immediately after their work.[1]

In a later report, of the 15th March, 1819, Baxter says that the 2nd Battalion of the 66th " hastily filled its ranks at Portsmouth with such men as were to be found in a seaport of that description at the end of a war, many of them with worn-out constitutions, and also many weakly young lads. The 1st Battalion of the same regiment before coming here suffered severely from an epidemic disease which laid waste their ranks, and greatly impaired the constitutions of all such as escaped its fury. The battalion embarked at Calcutta on their return from Cawnpoor in 1817 much reduced and hardly to be called convalescent. On the passage they suffered much from bowel complaints, having had brackish water put on board ; so that on their arrival here upwards of 80 men were admitted immediately into hospital, many of whom were in a dying state. The effect of the Indian influence on the constitutions of the men begins to cease, and a striking change in the health of the 66th Regt. has taken place, and this is particularly remarkable at Deadwood, where no instance of death has occurred in the hospital since 26th July. One-half of the battalion consisting of about 600 men is quartered at that place."[1]

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[1] B.M., 20118, p. 86.

Assistant Surgeon Henry, of the 1st Battalion 66th, says: "In March and April, 1818, the weather became very wet at Deadwood and the high lands of the island; and the duties of the soldiers, in dragging up from Jamestown materials for the new house to be erected for Napoleon, in digging its foundations, and clearing away the rubbish, being very severe and laborious, bowel complaints became frequent amongst the men. As the season improved the sickness wore off." He attributes the illness to a combination of fatigue duties with rainy weather. "During one period of twelve months we did not lose one man by disease out of four hundred of the 66th quartered at Deadwood." . . . "I maintain that, correctly speaking, we had no endemic disease in the island."

"I will broadly assert that we had no such disease" (as gastro-hepatitis) "nor any other distinctive endemic disease in St. Helena. We had some rare instances of hepatitis, or inflammation of the liver, amongst the soldiers when much exposed to the sun in the valley of Jamestown; but not one-twentieth part of the number we used to have in India. At night, too, from wet and exposure, the men would contract diarrhœa, and occasionally dysentery; but the officers, who were less exposed to fatigue and lived more generously than the men, were fully as healthy as they would have been in England. Indeed few regiments of our strength, with an average of between 30 and 40 officers, would pass nearly five years without losing one by disease, in England, or any part of the world, and yet this was our case in St. Helena."[2]

Surgeon Henry made an affidavit in 1823, in the case of Lowe *v.* O'Meara, in which he said that the troops at Deadwood were never sickly except when working at the new house for Napoleon, and in conveying materials for the same, when they were exposed to great fatigues. He said that "not one man died at Deadwood in a year out of nearly 500."[3] Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Dodgin made an affidavit in which he asserted that, in 1818 and 1819, there were between 600 and 700 men at Deadwood, of whom only three died of disease.

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[1] B.M., 20214, p. 62.

[2] "Events of a Military Life," vol. ii, pp. 44, 45, 83.

[3] B.M., 20230, p. 220.

Finally we have the evidence of Dr. Arnott, who says: "The duties of the soldiers in St. Helena were very severe, the strength of the garrison giving only *one* relief for night duty; and the working parties and fatigues were, moreover, very laborious on the days the men were off guard. But the officers who had little night duty retained their health and strength as in Europe. I can therefore safely assert, that anyone of temperate habits who is not exposed to much bodily exertion, night air, and atmospheric changes, as a soldier necessarily must be, may have as much immunity from disease in St. Helena as in Europe."

We are bound to accept these deliberate statements of Doctors Baxter, Arnott, and Henry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dodgin—the two latter made on oath—who were all men of high character and veracity.

The conclusion of the whole matter must be that, in normal times, British troops at St. Helena, and more particularly at Deadwood, enjoy better health than anywhere else in the world, England included; the ill-health of certain regiments, at certain periods, in 1815–21, was due to the want of fresh meat and vegetables, and the excessive fatigue duties caused by the presence of Napoleon.

III

Inventory of the furniture in Longwood old house, as taken by me, A. Darling, 12th, 15th, and 25th May, 1821.[1]

No. 1. Billiard-room.

2 Sofas (different patterns)
1 Octagon mahogany table
1 Loo Table (mahogany)
1 Pembroke table (mahogany)
3 Chamber tables
1 Card table
5 Chairs (various)
3 Arm-chairs
1 Carpet
5 Muslin window curtains (old)
5 Window blinds

No. 2. Drawing-room.

1 Large pier glass
2 Flower stands (marble tops)
2 Sofas
1 Foot stool
1 Small oak table (octagon)
1 Plain library table
1 Pembroke table (old)
7 Chairs
1 Carpet
2 Muslin window curtains
2 Window blinds
1 Pier commode with a marble top

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[1] From the papers at the Castle, Jamestown.

No. 3. Genl. Buonaparte's Sitting-room.

*1 Large mahogany library table
1 Small mahogany round table
1 Small mahogany pembroke table
2 Mahogany chairs
1 Cheval dressing glass
2 Hearthrugs
1 Carpet
*1 Inkstand
2 Muslin window blinds
1 Couch (old)
*1 Arm-chair
1 Set of drawing instruments

No. 4. Genl. Buonaparte's Bedroom.

1 Round mahogany table
1 Small ,, ,,
*1 Round front chest of drawers
1 Pier glass
2 Mahogany chairs
*1 Arm chair (large)
*1 Arm chair
1 Carpet
1 Rug
2 Muslin Window Blinds

No. 5. Genl. Buonaparte's Dining-room.

1 Side board table
10 Chairs (various)
1 Carpet
2 Curtains
2 Screens

N.B.—This room has been used as a chapel for some time.

No. 6. Library Room.

4 Mahogany book cases
2 Mahogany small book cases
1 Mahogany wardrobe
2 Arm-chairs
1 Old sideboard table
1 Pembroke table
1 Oilcloth
3 Muslin window blinds

No. 7. Bathroom.

1 Bath
1 Carpet
1 Set of window curtains

No. 8. Back Room from Bathroom.

1 Chest of drawers and book case
1 Couch (old)
1 Chair (old)

No. 9. Back Room behind Library Room.

1 Feather bed
2 Mattresses
1 Pillow
1 Bolster
1 Set of green silk curtains (old)

No. 10. Mr. Marchand's Front Room.

1 Carpet
3 Chairs
1 Dressing glass
1 Bedstead
1 Feather bed, pillow and bolster
1 Muslin blind

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* The articles marked have been brought by Sir Hudson Lowe to England.

No. 11. Mr. Marchand's Back Room.

- 1 Mahogany wardrobe
- 4 Chairs
- 1 Washing stand
- 1 Card table
- 1 Oilcloth

Nos. 12 to 19, inclusive, consisted of servants' rooms, offices, etc.

No. 20. Genl. Montholon's Bathroom.

- 1 Bath
- 1 Mahogany wardrobe
- 1 Small mahogany table
- 1 Night stool
- 1 Bidet
- 3 Chairs

No. 21. Genl. Montholon's Office.

- 1 Large writing table
- 1 Arm-chair
- 1 Small Pembroke table
- 1 Sofa (new)

Nos. 22, 23. Genl. Montholon's Dining-room and Entrance-room.

No. 24. Genl. Montholon's Bedroom.

- 1 Bedstead
- *1 Oak dressing table
- 1 Mahogany commode
- 6 Mahogany chairs
- 1 Hearthrug
- 1 Small Pembroke table
- 2 Window curtains

No. 25. Junior Priest's Room.

No. 26. Priest's and Dr. Antommarchi's Room.

No. 27. Priest's Bedroom.

No. 28. Priest's Dressing-room.

No. 29. Dr. Antommarchi's Sitting-room.

No. 30. Dr. Antommarchi's Bedroom.

Nos. 31 and 32. The Orderly Officer's Bedroom and Sitting-room.

Nos. 33, 34, 35. Servants' Rooms.

COUNT BERTRAND'S HOUSE.

No. 36. Madame Bertrand's Bedroom.

- 1 Mahogany bedstead
- 1 Feather bed, mattress complete
- 1 Sofa
- 1 Mahogany dressing table
- 1 Dressing glass
- 2 Arm-chairs
- 1 Carpet
- *1 Cheval dressing glass
- 2 Mahogany chairs
- 1 Small Pembroke table
- 1 Hearthrug
- 1 Child's crib

No. 37. Bathroom.

- 1 Bath

1 Mahogany wardrobe
1 Mahogany chest of drawers
1 Washhandstand with a marble top
1 Bedside table
1 Bidet
2 Chairs
1 Foot pan and ewer
1 Foot pan and ewer
1 Night stool
2 Round glasses

No. 38. Do.'s Dressing-room.

2 Deal presses

No. 39. Madame Bertrand's Sitting-room.

1 Pianoforte
1 Mahogany wardrobe
1 Chimney glass (broke)
1 Sofa
1 Chamber table
5 Mahogany chairs
1 Carpet
2 Window curtains
1 Fender and fireirons

No. 40. Count Bertrand's Hall.

1 Large mahogany table
1 Oilcloth
7 Mahogany chairs
1 Cellaret
1 Shower bath
9 Brown holland windowblinds

No. 41. Count Bertrand's Dining-room.

1 Sideboard table
6 Chairs
1 Table lamp
1 Dining table
2 Tea trays
4 Water decanters
3 Table candlesticks
1 Bedroom candlestick

No. 42. Children's Room.

3 Bedsteads
2 Straw bedsteads
1 Oilcloth
1 Chest of drawers
1 Clotheshorse
1 Arm-chair (old)
1 Bedroom chair
1 Coalscuttle
1 Set Fireirons and fender

No. 43. Back Room from do.

1 Bedstead
1 Deal chest of drawers
1 Dressing glass
1 Washstand

No. 44. Back Room from Drawing-room.

1 Wardrobe
1 Chair (old)
1 Washhandstand
1 Dressing glass

No. 45. Children's Nursery.

3 Small tables
1 Small mahogany table
1 Secretary
1 Sofa
2 Chairs
1 Arm-chair
1 Dressing glass
1 Washhandstand
1 Washhandstand marble top
1 Inkstand

Nos. 46 to 53, inclusive, consisted of servants' rooms, offices, tables, etc.

Inventory of furniture at Longwood New House as taken by me, A. Darling, 16 May, 1821.

No. 1. Dining-room.

1 Set dining tables
2 Sideboard tables
8 Mahogany chairs
1 Sofa
2 Sets muslin window curtains
2 Sets (buff coloured) window curtains and draperies
1 Brass 4-branch lamp
1 Hearthrug
1 Grate
1 Set fireirons and hearth-broom, etc.
1 Black marble chimneypiece with brass mouldings

No. 2. Drawing-room.

1 Octagon oak table
12 Ebony chairs carved with tabouret
2 Arm-chairs
2 Sets muslin window curtains
2 Sets curtains of tabouret with draperies and gilt ornaments
1 Chandelier
1 Handsome pier commode and pier glass
1 White marble chimneypiece
1 Grate
1 Set fireirons and fender and hearthrug

No. 3. Saloon or Billiard Room.

4 Large mahogany couches
4 Mahogany chairs
2 Mahogany stools
2 Pier tables
1 Brass lamp with 4 burners
1 Marble chimneypiece
1 Grate
1 Set fireirons and fender
3 Sets muslin curtains and draperies

No. 4. Library Room.

1 Mahogany library table
2 Mahogany sofas
12 Mahogany chairs
1 Book-case, small
1 Set library steps
1 Glass lamp
1 Marble chimneypiece
1 Set fireirons and fender
1 Hearthrug and grate
3 Sets window curtains and draperies

No. 5. Genl. Bonaparte's Bedroom.

1 Brass bedstead with two sets of curtains complete
2 Mattresses to do. comp.
2 Pillows
8 Chairs
1 Bidet
2 Clotheshorses
1 Large looking glass
1 Large washhandstand table
1 Marble chimneypiece
1 Set fireirons and fender

1 Hearthrug
1 Set window curtains and draperies
1 Set muslin do.

No. 6. Do.'s Dressing-room.

2 Mahogany wardrobes
1 Washhand table (marble top)
2 Chairs
2 Sets curtains and draperies
1 Set muslin curtains
1 Marble chimneypiece
1 Set fireirons and fender
1 Hearthrug

No. 7. Genl. Bonaparte's Bathroom.

1 Bath complete
1 Mahogany table
2 Chairs
1 Bidet
1 Clotheshorse
2 Sets window curtains
1 Oilcloth

No. 8. Sitting-room.

1 Large wardrobe for charts, [etc.
1 Sofa
1 Library table
6 Mahogany chairs
2 Sets curtains and draperies
1 Marble chimneypiece [etc.
1 Grate, fire-irons, and fenders,

No. 9. Genl. Montholon's Sitting-room

4 Sets window curtains and draperies
1 Marble chimneypiece
1 Grate, fireirons, etc.

No. 10. Do.'s Dining-room.

4 Sets window curtains and draperies
1 Marble chimneypiece, fireirons, grate, etc.

No. 11. Do. Bedroom.

2 Sets window curtains and draperies complete
1 Marble chimneypiece, grate, and fireirons complete

No. 12. Gen. Montholon's Dressing-room.

1 Set window curtains
1 Grate, fireirons, fender complete

Do. Bathroom.

1 Set window curtains
1 Lamp (in passage)
2 Rolls oilcloth (in passage)
Green baise on floor of above 12 rooms
Oilcloth on back lobby and passage

Kitchen.

1 Smoke jack
1 Hot stove
2 Large tables
1 Cast-iron oven
4 Charcoal stoves
1 Grate complete

St. Helena, 4th June, 1821.

(Signed) A. Darling.

IV[1]

10th July, 1817, the following memorial was received :—

The petitions of Captains Younghusband and Fernandez and Lieut. & Adjutant Wilton to His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe Governor Isle of St. Helena, etc. Humbly sheweth

That your petitioners having received a letter from Mr. Brooke Government Secretary, accompanied with an extract from consultation of 23rd June, 1817, wherein it is resolved "that Captains Younghusband and Fernandez and Adjutant Wilton be allowed Interest at the rate of 5 per cent upon the estimated value of their buildings and that a deduction of House rent be made at the rate of £50 from each of the two former and of £35 from the latter." Your petitioners beg leave to approach you in the most respectful manner and to lay before you extracts from a letter from Mr. Brooke of the 13th June, 1816, which they are led to suppose from the above decision has been overlooked by your Excellency and Council, viz. "In adopting the determination communicated in my letter of the 31st ult. the Governor & Council had no idea of deriving public benefit from the uncertain reversion (in point of time) of buildings, the utility of which in regard to the Honble. East India Company, is at least questionable; and they conceived sufficient consideration had been extended in their engaging to take off your hands houses erected exclusively for the purposes of your own accommodation. In their performance of this engagement the Governor and Council moreover assent to your being allowed such interest upon the valuation as shall be deemed equitable by impartial persons, but they recommend no further expenses may be incurred than what are absolutely unavoidable, in order to render the apartments already constructed habitable, in which case they will be happy to so arrange the matter that no loss may be sustained by you—this is the utmost to which they can pledge themselves."

Your petitioners were quite satisfied on the receipt of this letter, as it insured to them the money they had expended in the building of their houses, as by the above pledge they were not to sustain any loss, and from the assertion in the former part of the extract, that the Governor and Council had no idea of deriving public benefit from the buildings. This language appears so plain to your petitioners who, as British soldiers, take it as it is read that they cannot but feel great surprise at the adoption of any arrangement inconsistent with the above extract and therefore appeal with pride to your Excellency as a British soldier and trust to your taking it again into consideration.

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[1] From the papers at the Castle, Jamestown.

Your petitioners beg leave to observe that the arrangement made of paying for the houses originated with your Excellency and Council, your petitioners having merely applied for a lease of their ground, to enable them to transfer the property to officers that should succeed them. This was refused and an order given that they were not to carry on the buildings but to finish and make them habitable, when they should be taken off their hands at a fair valuation.

Your petitioners should not have felt surprise at a rent for the last year being charged, had your Excellency and Council advanced the money for the buildings, but as it was mostly drawn from the funds in England at a loss, they cannot help feeling much aggrieved at a rental being charged for houses built by themselves with immense labour, fatigue, privation, and expenses and that those buildings should be valued by two persons chosen by Government, and, as your petitioners understand, with positive orders only to appraise such works as were in hand or finished in May last, by which means the valuation fell short of the actual expenditure of your petitioners, as must every appraisal do that does not take into consideration the situation where the houses are and the difficulty of procuring everything that is necessary for the construction of houses at such a distance from their materials.

Your petitioners beg leave to mention the case of Lieut. Nagle, who, not approving of the first valuation made, was permitted another, on which there was a friend of his own—the second valuation was £270, which was paid free of deduction.

Your petitioners have therefore considerable difficulty in reconciling the idea of your Excellency and Council " not wishing to derive any public benefit from these buildings " when the sum of £50 is charged for occupying houses for the last year, which have as yet been no expense to the Honble. Company, being upwards of £25 per cent upon the valuation, whilst at the same time your Excellency & Council have only allowed the interest of 5 per cent for the advance of the money and privations which your petitioners suffered.

Your petitioners in referring to Mr. Brooke's letter find that " the Governor & Council assent to your being allowed such interest upon the valuation as shall be deemed equitable by impartial persons" whereas the interest now allowed by your Excellency & Council does not even amount to the common interest of the Island—viz. 7½ and 10 per cent as established on trial at a late Sessions.

Your petitioners conceive it hard that they should, after giving up their claims to Barrack rooms be obliged to pay rent for the last year, when Officers of the same Regiment have been living in theirs free of expense to them, though considerable to Government and likewise when a Captain's quarters equal in comfort and size to their houses may be had in the Barracks in Jamestown for £20 rent.

Relying therefore on your Excellency's high character for justice, your petitioners feel emboldened from the circumstances that have already taken place, to lay the following propositions before your Excellency for consideration, at the same time utterly disclaiming all idea of attempting to dictate, and, as we trust they are founded in justice, hope they may meet with your sanction, viz.:

1. That neither interest on the valuation of the houses at Deadwood be allowed, nor house rent charged for the last year ending 30th June, 1817, and that the valuation be paid to the different officers on that day, or as soon as it is convenient to Government.

2. That the occupants of the buildings do commence paying rent at the following rates from 1st July, 1817, and to keep premises in repairs.

Captains Younghusband and Fernandez	£30 per annum
Lieut. and Adjutant Wilton	£25 ,, ,,

which being upwards of 10 per cent to Government in clear gain, and only eight years' purchase, will, we trust, meet with your Excellency's approbation. And your petitioners will ever pray, etc., etc.

Signed,

Robert Younghusband, Capt. 53rd Regt.
Sarah Fernandez for Capt. Fernandez.
J. Wilton, Adj. 53rd Regt.

26th June, 1817.

The following answer was returned :—

To Captains Younghusband and Fernandez and Adjutant Wilton,
H.M. 53rd Regt.

GENTLEMEN,

In reply to your memorial of the 26th June last containing a quotation from my letter of 13th June, 1816. I am directed by His Excellency the Governor and Council to refer you to my communication of 30th May, 1816, upon which the above quotation is founded. You were informed that you should be considered as tenants at will and upon your quitting the premises they should be taken at a fair valuation allowing for the *use you should have previously drawn from them and the advantage you should have received in your lodging allowances.*

From the spirit of that letter there was no variance in my letter of 13th June following, except an assent to an equitable interest being allowed you ; accompanied by a caution against incurring any further expenses "than what were absolutely unavoidable in order to render the apartments *already constructed* habitable." It would be unreasonable to expect that the Government should pay lodging money to officers and build houses at the same time, not for their personal accommodation as officers, but solely for the convenience of their families.

According to your own statement the buildings have been constructed by funds drawn mostly from England, where the legal interest is 5 per cent at which rate it has been allowed to you, and in regard to the valuation of your houses, the appraisement was upon oath, which was not the case with Mr. Nagle's ; the latter, moreover, was required for the use of the Company's farms, whereas those of Captains Younghusband and Fernandez offer no advantage whatever for that purpose.

An act of considerate attention alone to the situation of the married officers urged the Governor's acquiescence to grant the Memorialists an allowance for the buildings they had constructed, thus going beyond what his predecessor had ventured to do, and it is with real regret therefore he has observed the extraordinary claims, which have been founded upon it. Notwithstanding these circumstances the Governor and Council have resolved that only half the lodging money of each rank be deducted from the cost of the buildings and that the interest at the highest island rate (10%) be allowed on the estimated cost. Without entering into the detail of any further reply to some objectionable passages in the Memorial I am directed to observe that the tone in which they have been presented is very foreign to the plain, simple, and respectful language that ought to pervade every address of a Military person towards those who are in higher authority, whether Military or Civil.

I have the honour to be,
Thos. H. Brooke, Secty.

10 July, 1817.

V

Pauline wrote to Planat from Rome, 11th July, 1821 :—

" I have had much to suffer for two years, for my uncle, mamma and Colonna allow themselves to be guided by an intriguing German woman, who is a spy of the Court of Austria, who says the Madonna appears to her and has told her that the Emperor is no longer at St. Helena ! A thousand incredible, extravagant, ideas ! The Cardinal is obsessed by it, for he says openly that the Emperor is no longer at Saint Helena, that he has had revelations from which he knows where he is !

We have for two years been doing everything, Louis and I, to counteract the impression made by this sorceress, but without avail. My uncle has hidden from us the news and the letters which he was receiving from Saint Helena, observing that this silence ought sufficiently to convince us.

Mamma is devout and gives freely to this woman who is in league with her confessor, who is himself the right hand of still other priests. All that is a terrible intrigue and Colonna supports it all ; he is at church from morning till evening. The Emperor ought to be told about it all.

They tried to hide from me the arrival of the abbé Buonavita. He was in mamma's room when I went there to take leave of her as I was going to Frascati, but the door was shut upon me. Luckily I had learned from the porter that the abbé was there. I went up ; mamma said nothing. I was thus obliged to tell her that I knew about it, and that I wished to see the abbé and to have news of the Emperor. . . .

I love the Emperor more than all the world. I am fortunate to be able now to give him the greatest proof, as I have done all in my power to be able to go to him.

Mamma and my uncle do not altogether believe that the abbé Buonavita left the Emperor at Saint Helena, for they have said to me, "I do not believe it: the Emperor is no longer there, I know it." In short, my sufferings are terrible. Besides the extreme distress I feel for the sufferings of the Emperor, I have also the annoyance of seeing mamma and the Cardinal unwilling to do anything to carry out his orders, saying that it is all an imposture.

Yesterday I threw myself at mamma's feet; I exposed to her the whole intrigue and I begged her, for honour's sake, to send away this woman and this priest; but she became angry with me, declaring that she was the mistress as to what persons she should see. She is supported by my uncle and Colonna; at last it has made me ill.

They have not treated the abbé Buonavita well, for mamma asked him if he had really seen the Emperor. The poor man, so affectionate, was much annoyed at the question. I am taking him with me to Frascati, as they will not give him a sou."

On the 15th Pauline wrote to Planat, who was about to depart for St. Helena:—

"It is important that the Emperor should know the exact truth. What I have written to you is true. I insist, and repeat it, because it is all so extravagant that unless one were to hear it with one's own ears one could not realize the extent of the hallucination.

There is a conspiracy between priests and women, who pretend to make revelations. The most celebrated is a German, who has a salary, is certainly a spy, and has an intriguing spirit. She has obtained such an influence over Madame and the Cardinal that whatever she says is accepted as a revelation from the Holy Virgin, who appears to her.

The result has been that all the letters that Madame and the Cardinal may have received in the last two years have been regarded as forgeries, with forged signatures; the letters being considered to have been concocted by the English Government to have it believed that the Emperor is still at Saint Helena, while the Cardinal and Madame say that they know positively that His Majesty has been carried away by angels and taken to a country where his health is very good, and whence they receive news of him. . . .

Even the arrival of the abbé Buonavita has not yet convinced mamma and the Cardinal. At last, after a terrible scene between us all, mamma is beginning to be shaken. But that scene was so violent that I have broken with the Cardinal, whom I shall never speak to again. It is very lucky that the abbé had a letter to give to me *direct*; otherwise it would have been hidden from me."[1]

VI[2]

St. Helena, *5th March*, 1821.

Dear Madam,

I have been favoured with your Ladyship's letters of 24th July and 17th September, but delayed the acknowledgment of them until I might be enabled to acquaint your Ladyship, at the same time, of the arrival here of the several articles they advise to have been forwarded. The case spoken of in the last letter is that alone which has been yet received, and it was forwarded the same day to Longwood. The cases mentioned in your Ladyship's letter of 24th July, although I had been apprized by Lord Bathurst's directions of their being sent and desired to acknowledge their receipt, have not yet arrived. The ships which have come from England since the letter was received are the *Blossom*, *Cygnet*, and *Beaver*, sloops of war and a transport, the *Hedcombe.* I have inquired, but without effect, as to their having been embarked on board either of these vessels. They may perhaps arrive by the Company's store ships, one of which is daily expected. Although so very remiss in due acknowledgment, I beg your Ladyship to be assured of the punctuality with which your commands have been always executed as to the little articles you have sent for the *délassement* of my charge here and hope therefore you will not consider my having kept back the caricatures of which you have spoken, as meriting any very severe reprehension. The use I make of my discretion in such instances (a prerogative very rarely exerted by me) is frequently guided by local circumstances, which perhaps, if known and well considered, might, on the contrary, give me some claim to acknowledgment.

In the mode of performing my very invidious duties here I know myself exposed alike to the after-judgment of the bitterest enemies as well as the greatest admirers of the person under my custody. This dilemma has nothing to disquiet me. The former may rest assured no precautions which my means and ability can admit, will be omitted to secure against his evasion, and against the mischief which his after appearance in the political world might create. The latter that no attention whatever will be wanting to administer to his comforts, compatible with the above objects.

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[1] Planat, "Rome et Sainte-Hélène," pp. 18, 21.

[2] B.M., 20132, p. 205.

The latter obligation I regard as not less binding than the former, though, if I may be permitted to express my own individual sentiments, I hold myself much more flattered in being the guardian of his person at St. Helena than I should be to be his Minister at the Court of the Tuileries. He has been complaining a good deal latterly of declining health, but he takes exercise in a carriage daily, twice almost every day. The new house lately finished for him, which is fitted up in the most commodious way possible, will, I should hope, contribute to his health as well as comfort.

Your Ladyship has adverted to the small present sent by Mr. Damer. It was duly forwarded, but it is very rarely indeed any acknowledgment is made to me for the different articles sent to Longwood. Captain Spenser whilst here heard from me what had been done with respect to the medals. From caprice or what motive I cannot infer, they were given by Bonaparte to Marchand his valet de chambre. The intimation conveyed in one of them, that his time might be well employed in writing his history, did not perhaps accord with his ardent breathing to furnish still some additional materials. A present sent by Mr. Elphinstone from China was also delivered to another person, though the Imperial Crown stood emblazoned in the most brilliant manner on every article. It was a lady, however, the Countess Montholon, who accepted the advantage on this occasion.

The articles your Ladyship was so obliging as to send for Lady Lowe were duly presented to her. Being unknown to your Ladyship, she does not take the liberty to address you on this occasion, but she has charged me to convey her very sincere acknowledgments for your Ladyship's kindness.

With respect to myself, I feel that no apology can atone for my repeated neglects, and omission in not duly acknowledging the many favours I have received, but I pray nevertheless your Ladyship to be assured and beg your intercession also to the same effect with Lord Holland, that I ever preserve and cherish the most grateful remembrance of the numerous acts of personal kindness and attention with which you have honoured me. I hope most sincerely Lord Holland remains free from indisposition and that no further domestic affliction may ever again occur to trouble your happiness.

H. Lowe.

The Rt. Hble. Lady Holland.

Holland House,[1]
Saturday Night.

I was in London when you were good enough to call at Hd. H., but am not sorry at an opportunity of acknowledging your attentions by *writing,* as I confess I should have some difficulty in conversing with you just now on subjects connected with them, being one of that numerous class you describe in your letter of the 5th March as seeing in the late great man chiefly, if not exclusively, " talents to admire." In this frame of mind it would be distressing to me to be under any constraint in talking of the treatment he received from the English Government, and the consequences of it to his health and life, and it would be equally so to you to hear any warm expressions I might use. On the other hand I cannot defer thanking you for your personal civility in conveying such early intelligence of the termination of Napoleon's cruel sufferings and persecutions, and of his gratifying bequests to me, accept therefore my thanks and acknowledgments for these and other marks of your attention. Lord Holland bids me return with his best compliments and thanks the books you were so good as to lend him. I was much flattered by Lady Lowe's kind message, and beg you to present her my best compliments and respects.

I am,
Your obedt. humble servant,
Eliza: Vassall Holland.

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[1] B.M., 20233, p. 172.

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